

WELLCOME INSTITUTE  
FOR THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE

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A SHORT HISTORY



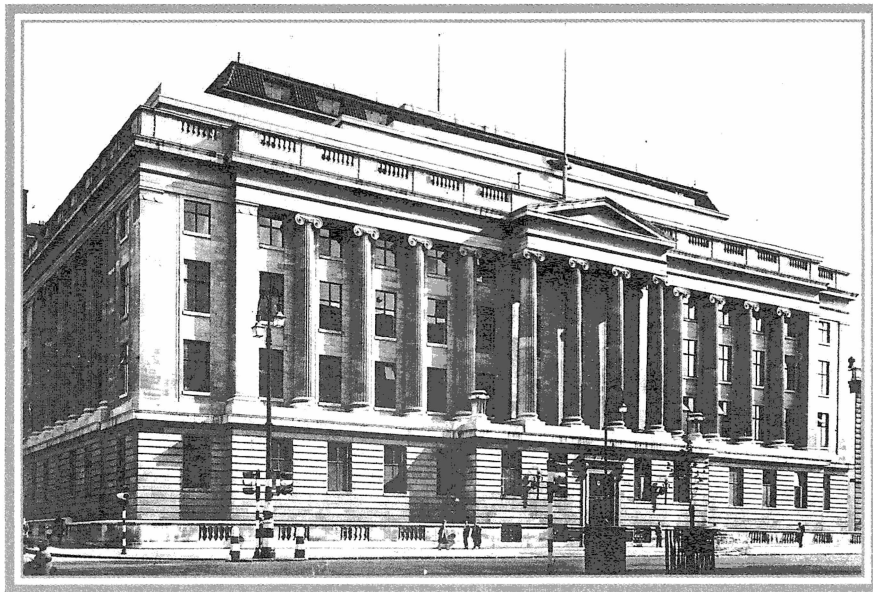
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JOHN SYMONS





The Wellcome Building, 183 Euston Road. Erected in 1931–1932, to the design of Septimus Warwick, to house Sir Henry Wellcome's laboratories and museums including the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum and (from 1941) the Wellcome Historical Medical Library. From 1947 to 1989 the building contained the head offices of the Wellcome Foundation Ltd. Since 1992 it has been the headquarters of the Wellcome Trust.

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Although the Wellcome Institute still awaits an in-depth study of its historical development, it is hoped that the superficial account presented here will at least set out the basic outline. I am indebted to Dr Edwin Clarke for the first suggestion that there was a gap to be filled, and, for subsequent encouragement, to Professor Rupert Hall, Dr Peter Williams, Professor Sir William Paton, Eric Freeman and Professor William Bynum.

Present and former colleagues too numerous to mention individually have listened tolerantly, read successive drafts and made helpful suggestions. It is also a pleasure to acknowledge the help of former staff of the Institute's predecessors, the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum and Library, who have supplied first-hand memories, both written and oral, from the 1920s onwards. Although little of this can be exhibited directly in the present publication, I can assure them that their time and trouble has not been wasted and that, thanks to them, the Wellcome Institute now has a valuable record of the atmosphere of its distant past and of the personalities involved. Among these, special thanks are due to Mary Cathcart Borer, the late Mrs Joan Braunholtz, Drs Barbara Duncum and Margaret Rowbottom, and the late John Thornton for repeated assistance on a variety of points. Dr Rowbottom read the entire text in draft and has saved me from a number of errors. Dr Duncum supplied the photograph of Alec Haggis and Mr Thornton photographs of the Library at Willesden.

Information reaching back even further has also been generously provided by relatives of deceased members of staff. Among these, for photographs reproduced here, I am grateful to Mrs Maude Appleby (née Huck), Clifford Barnard, the Countess of Harrowby (née Johnston-Saint), A R Hewitt, the late J K R Prideaux and A D Shirreff. Thanks are also due to Simon Copley (George Weidenfeld & Nicolson Ltd), Christine Bayliss (Hammersmith and Fulham Archives), M D Crane and R D Clark (City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery) and to the Wellcome Institute Iconographic Collections.

An earlier version of part of this text was read to the Museum Ethnographers' Group in 1985 and published in its *Newsletter* in 1987.

For typing of successive drafts, thanks are due to Sally Bragg, Vivien Wren, Tracy Tillotson and Jenni Crisp. The expertise of the Wellcome Centre Medical Photographic Library and the Wellcome Trust Publishing Department is also gratefully acknowledged.

Finally, my wife Lenore has been a constant source of encouragement and advice throughout the book's prolonged gestation.

JOHN SYMONS

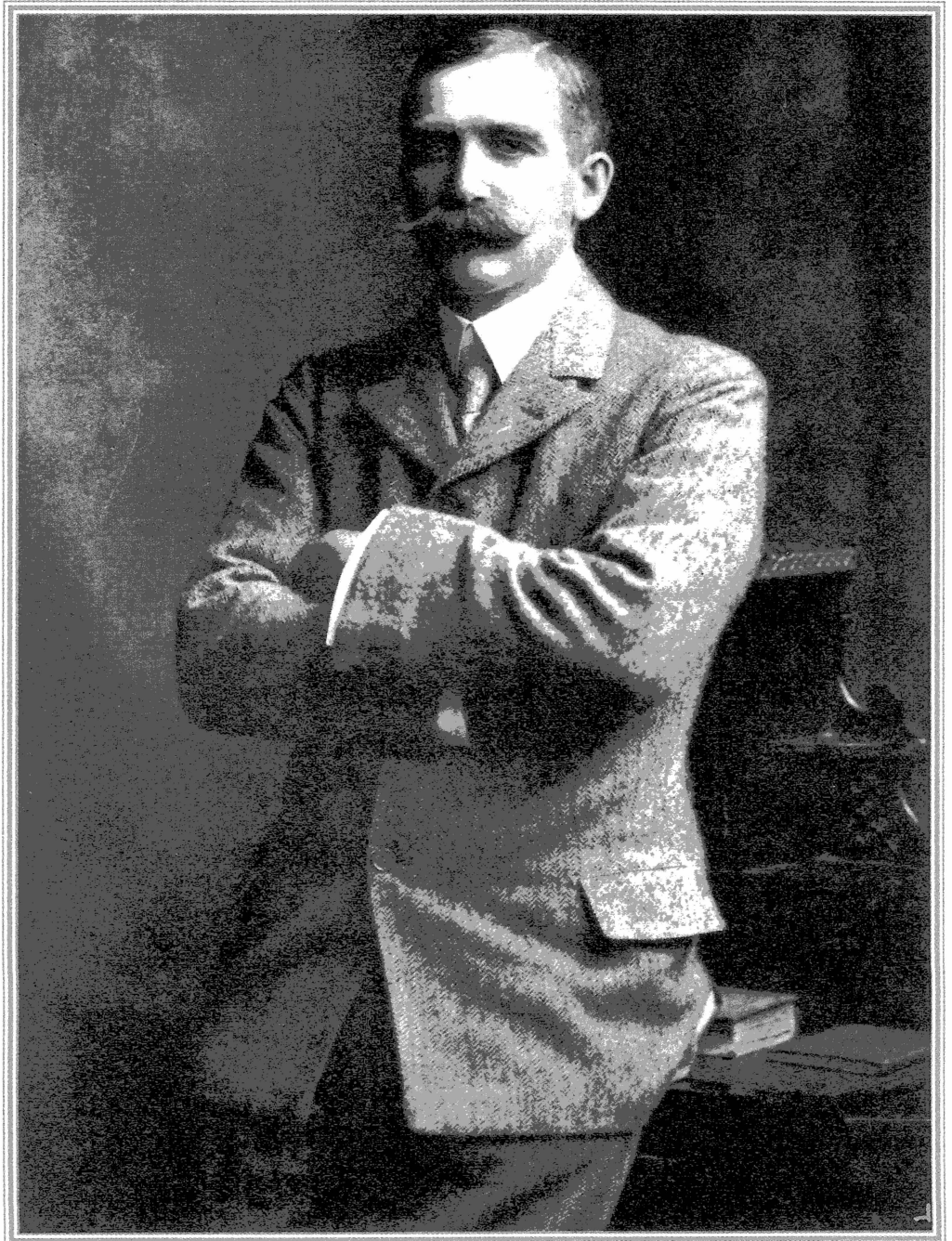
The Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine represents the library, teaching and research functions of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum created by Sir Henry Solomon Wellcome (1853–1936) during the last forty years of his life. It is owned and maintained by the Wellcome Trust, the charitable body established under Wellcome's will. The Museum collections, although still the property of the Trust, are now physically and administratively separate as the Wellcome Museum of the History of Medicine, a department of the Science Museum, South Kensington. Nevertheless the Museum and Library share a common history, in most of which the Museum was the dominant partner.

No connected narrative history of the Institute has so far been published. Biographies of Sir Henry Wellcome and historians of the Wellcome Foundation Ltd have touched on aspects of the story. The fiftieth anniversary of Wellcome's death, in 1986, saw the publication of three important studies: A R Hall and B A Bembridge in their *Physic and philanthropy, a history of the Wellcome Trust 1936–1986* dealt with events from 1936 onwards as they affected the Trust; Ghislaine Skinner provided an analysis of Wellcome's collecting policy in an article in *Medical History*; and Georgina Russell, in a special supplement to the *Museums Journal*, described the long process of the dispersal of the 'non-medical' parts of Wellcome's collections.

What follows does not pretend to be a definitive history but is an attempt to set out the basic outline of the Institute's development, as a record which may provide a context for individual studies of specific topics and as a prelude to any future treatment in greater depth. It does not attempt to describe the collections themselves, other than in general terms. This is a topic covered by the other booklets in this series (see page 60), to which this account stands in counterpoint.

## THE FOUNDER

Sir Henry Wellcome's life has been recorded in detail elsewhere. Born and brought up in the American Midwest in pioneering days, he trained as a pharmacist in Chicago and at the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy, and in 1880 came to London to join an American acquaintance, Silas Mainville Burroughs, in setting up the pharmaceutical firm of Burroughs, Wellcome & Co., with its head office at Snow Hill Buildings, Holborn Viaduct. It may seem strange that two young Americans should see Europe rather than America as their land of opportunity, but this was an expansive time for the pharmaceutical industry generally: compressed tablets had only



*Henry S Wellcome,  
about 1895.*



recently been invented and there were still no big manufacturing chemists in Great Britain, so that there was a field ready for exploitation. The firm was immediately successful and quickly became a manufacturing as well as a marketing business. Its first factory was in Wandsworth but in 1889 operations were moved to Dartford, which is still the firm's main production centre. The first

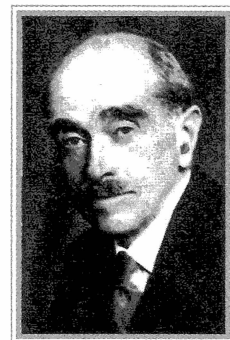
overseas branch was opened in Australia in 1886. One incidental achievement was the coining of the word 'Tabloid', which was registered as a trade mark and is still recorded as such in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Wellcome even won a victory in the courts in 1903 to establish his proprietary rights in the word.

### NEW DIRECTIONS

The turning point for Wellcome came with the sudden death of Burroughs on 6 February 1895. Under the partnership agreement as it then stood (it was due to expire on 1 September that year), Wellcome was entitled to purchase his partner's interest in the company and to become sole proprietor, free to direct its development along his own lines. The most significant new departure was an emphasis on scientific research. On 14 February 1895, little more than a week after the death of Burroughs, he wrote to his college friend Dr Frederick Belding Power, a distinguished research chemist, offering to provide research facilities for him in London; this invitation led to the establishment in July 1896 of the Wellcome Chemical Research Laboratories<sup>1</sup> with Power as Director. The Wellcome Physiological Research Laboratories followed later as an expansion of a laboratory set up in 1894 for the production of diphtheria antitoxin.<sup>2</sup> The first Director was Dr Walter Dowson. Both laboratories were, in theory, directly responsible to Wellcome, independent of the company and free to concentrate on pure research, without necessarily any direct commercial end product. In practice this independence was less than absolute, as both laboratories were administered through the company's head office and both carried out work relating to the company's products on request.

It was also at this time that Wellcome began to develop his collecting interests. He had been buying books and objects since his student days but he now began to put these activities on an institutional basis, employing C J S Thompson as his principal agent.

Thompson was a pharmacist by training, originally from Liverpool, but his real ambitions were literary and by the early 1890s he had written a number of pharmaceutical textbooks. In 1896 he was commissioned by Wellcome to carry out a research project on the history of animal



*Above:*  
*Wellcome's first curator:*  
*C J S Thompson*  
*(1862–1943).*

*Top Left:*  
*Snow Hill Buildings,*  
*Holborn Viaduct.*  
*Headquarters of Burroughs*  
*Wellcome & Co. and the*  
*first home of the Library.*

*Right: Catalogue. Page 91  
with Wellcome's  
comments on this lot:  
'Superb must have  
inspired Morris'.*

[illegible]

substances used in medicine and at the end of 1897 he began to collect books and manuscripts for Wellcome's library. In 1898 he became officially a company employee, initially for the two functions of collecting and of carrying out historical research which could be utilised for the firm's publicity. In due course he moved from Liverpool and became attached to the head office at Snow Hill as Librarian.

At first, Thompson's collecting activities were concerned solely with library materials. His first recorded purchase was the late seventeenth-century medical receipt book of Lady Ayscough, acquired in December 1897. A year later, in December 1898, an opportunity came for a major acquisition with the sale of a large part of the library of William Morris. The whole collection had been purchased after Morris's death by the Manchester collector Richard Bennett, who, having made his own selection, put most of the books on sale again through Sotheby's.<sup>3</sup> The library reflected Morris's interest in design, medievalism and early printing. About a third of the lots were bought for Wellcome, including the foundation of the Library's collection of incunabula (books printed before 1501). Although Bennett had retained the cream of the collection, he had an idiosyncratic aversion to large folios and Wellcome was thus able to acquire several fine examples, including copies of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* and *Mer des Hystoires*. Few of the books bought at this sale were of medical interest. Most of the early books seem to have been chosen not for their subject matter but for their typographical interest and possible usefulness to the company for design purposes;<sup>4</sup> many were religious or legal and there were several illuminated manuscripts. Other subjects featured were the history of printing, bibliographical reference works, technology, travel, history, mythology and Scandinavian sagas. Wellcome's aim at this time, so far as can be seen from



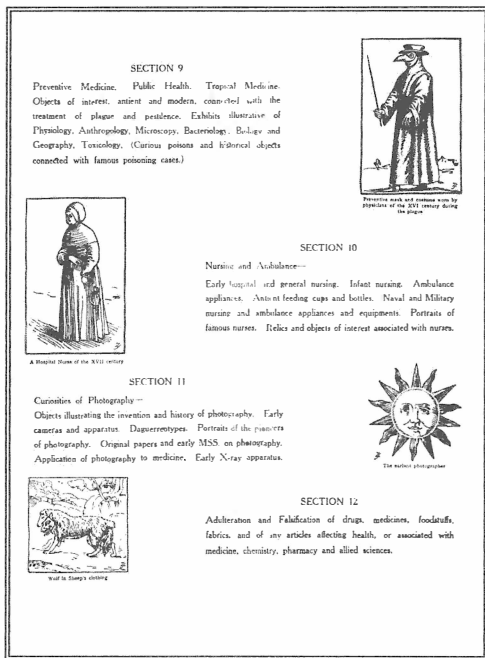
his general purchasing policy, seems to have been a general reference library with medicine as an important constituent part.

From this time onwards, books were bought regularly at the London sale-rooms and Thompson also made periodic collecting tours in the provinces and, occasionally, on the Continent. Wellcome himself normally visited the Continent every winter and brought consignments of books back with him from France, Italy, Spain, Portugal and elsewhere. One feature constant throughout Wellcome's collecting was the element of secrecy. He never allowed his name to be used in the sale-rooms and at the Morris sale all his purchases were made in the name of Wilton, which was always his favourite pseudonym.

#### THE ADVENT OF A MUSEUM

The beginning of a museum as well as a library can be dated to about 1903. The firm was due to complete its first quarter-century in 1904 and Wellcome decided to mark this by holding a Historical Medical Exhibition in London. Thompson was entrusted with the coordination of arrangements: circulars soliciting material were sent out to the medical profession (especially to medical missionaries) and to the appropriate learned societies and institutions; the firm's representatives were also asked to look out for likely material. A certain element of inconsistency now became apparent in Wellcome's collecting: on the one hand he was sending out circulars mentioning his name and the name of the firm while on the other he was still insisting on a facade of secrecy. Thompson was by this time employing a number of assistants to travel on his behalf and to bid at sales in their own names, a ploy which lost much of its point as these supposedly nondescript men with large sums of money at their disposal soon became distinctive figures in the sale-rooms; Messrs Bourne and Stow, both employed at an early date, were still buying for Wellcome well into the 1930s. Thompson himself carried on a great deal of his correspondence in the name of Epworth & Co., rare book dealers, and this firm too carried on its shadowy existence until the 1930s. (Epworth was a Thompson family name.) The eminent book dealer, Dr M L Ettinghausen, recorded that he was so intrigued by this firm with its seemingly omnivorous appetite that he actually tracked down its address in Newman Street, only to find an empty office used purely as an accommodation address. A clue to the firm's true identity was later provided when an unwanted item was sent back wrapped in Burroughs Wellcome paper.<sup>5</sup>

Inconsistency was also apparent in the relationship with the commercial side. The circular sent out to the firm's representatives stated quite clearly: 'This exhibition will be held quite apart from the firm and is a personal matter of Mr Wellcome's. It will be of a strictly professional and scientific character and quite free from anything in the way of commercialism.'<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, the exhibition was planned to celebrate an era in the firm's history and the firm's resources were used for gathering material, so that, inevitably, it was widely believed that the collection was primarily intended as an advertisement. This became a recurrent problem.



Above: Page 4 from the first circular for the Historical Medical Exhibition. [1904?]

The early circulars are interesting as guides to Wellcome's concept of the exhibition. They mention curiosities of medicine, surgery and pharmacy, 'paintings, drawings, engravings, photographs, medallions and sculptures . . . materia medica of all ages . . . medicine chests . . . hospital equipment . . . surgical instruments'.<sup>7</sup> Anthropology was always his passion and he claimed that his interest in primitive peoples, and in the American Indians in particular, was first awakened when at the age of four he found a neolithic stone implement and his father explained to him that the perfecting of that implement was more important to its maker in contemporary terms than the invention of the electric telegraph or the steam railway engine.<sup>8</sup> In the early circulars this aspect does not figure especially prominently, although there is a subsection calling for 'Votive offerings for health, antient [*sic*] and modern amulets...emblems, charms and talismans. Medical relics of savage and primitive peoples',<sup>7</sup>

and a specially worded circular was sent out to medical missionaries.

The work of collecting quickly developed a momentum of its own and the 1904 target date was soon abandoned. Wellcome certainly realised that he had embarked on a project of much wider significance than he had originally supposed, but his ultimate intention is difficult to establish. One of his favourite business mottoes is said to have been 'Never tell anyone what you propose to do until you've done it'.<sup>9</sup> What does seem certain is that he envisaged a general museum of the human race of which medicine formed the central core.<sup>10</sup>

One side-effect of this collecting activity was the break-up of Wellcome's marriage in 1909. He had married Syrie Barnardo, daughter of the philanthropist Dr Thomas Barnardo, in 1901. She was 27 years his junior with a strong personality of her own and the relationship was probably always precarious, but one of the contributory factors was certainly her dislike of the amount of time devoted to collecting when they were on their continental travels. They were eventually divorced in 1916, with Wellcome retaining custody of their son Mounteney. Syrie experienced a second disastrous marriage to Somerset Maugham and finally made a career for herself as an interior decorator.<sup>11</sup>

Wellcome's reaction was to bury himself in his work. Hitherto, he had led an active social life and had been a prominent member of the American community in London, but henceforward he tended to devote himself to his professional and philanthropic activities. He did not become a recluse; he maintained his membership of various societies and attended their meetings and public functions but he had few close personal relationships and the sense of withdrawal increased as he grew older.



Right: Syrie Wellcome (afterwards Maugham) (1879–1955). Drypoint by P C Helleu.

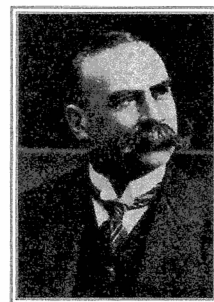
The collecting of historical material was principally in Thompson's hands and his reports to Wellcome provide a detailed record of his work, though not, unfortunately, a complete one. These reports were only required when Wellcome was abroad, so that for these periods a full record exists, often with several reports a week, going into exhaustive detail and requesting decisions on the most trivial matters. There is no comparable continuous written record for the periods when Wellcome was in London, although obviously it was then that many important decisions were taken.

Material was acquired at auction sales, both in London and in the provinces. Advertisements were placed in the newspapers, *Bazaar*, *Exchange and Mart* and similar publications, always anonymously, and the circulars issued attracted a good response. Thompson and his assistants continued with their collecting tours, both at home and on the Continent, where agents were retained in various cities. There was, however, no indication of when or where the collection would eventually be displayed and for several years the material accumulated in warehouses in different parts of London. It was a characteristic of Wellcome's operations that more money was spent on acquisitions than on dealing with the material once it had been acquired. If the existing stores became full it was a simple matter to rent another.

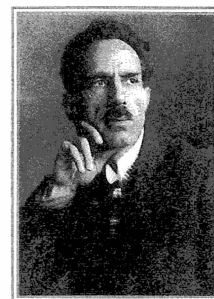
Apart from his collecting work, Thompson was still responsible for providing a library service at Snow Hill (the routine work was delegated to a graduate assistant) and for research work for the publicity department. The firm produced a number of booklets for issue at medical conferences in which publicity for the firm's products was accompanied by a historical essay, often on a topic related to the venue or the subject of the conference. Examples include *Oxford medical lore* (1904), *From ergot to 'Ernutin'* (1908), *Anglo-Saxon leechcraft* (1912) and *The history of inoculation and vaccination* (1913). The text for these was largely Thompson's work, although others may have contributed to the research.

Wellcome's other principal assistant in collecting for the Historical Medical Exhibition at this early period was Dr Louis Westenra Sambon, a flamboyant and cosmopolitan figure, by profession a specialist in tropical diseases and lecturer at the London School of Tropical Medicine. A collector in his own right, he had been commissioned by the Italian Government to organise a historical exhibition for the 11th International Congress of Medicine held in Rome in 1894. He was intermittently employed by Wellcome from 1903 onwards for work with the historical material, particularly for research in France and Italy. It is apparent that initially there was some friction over his subordination to Thompson.

A relative of Dr Sambon's, Arthur Amoroso, joined the staff in 1910 as a general assistant to Thompson, whom he accompanied as interpreter on his foreign travels. Another assistant, who was to have a significant influence on the development of the collections, was Dr Paira Mall. An Indian by birth but trained in medicine in Europe, he joined the staff in 1910 as a specialist in oriental languages. He was at first employed on research in London but in 1911 was sent to India as a collecting agent.



*Louis Westenra Sambon*  
(1865–1931).



*Paira Mall*  
(1874–1957).

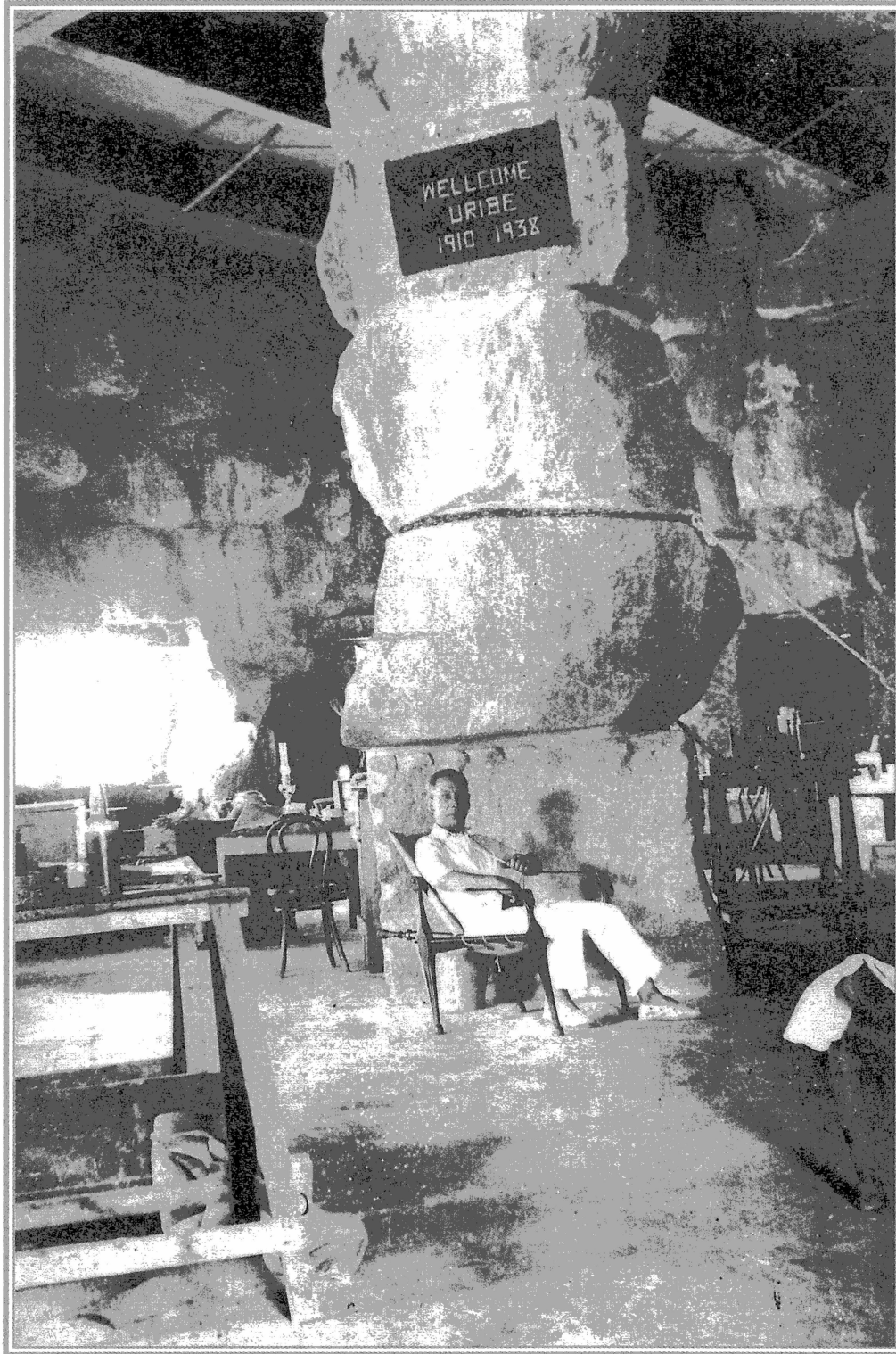
A few words should be said at this point about Wellcome's work in the Sudan, which ran concurrently with his collecting activity. A visit to the country in 1901 had led to the foundation in 1903 of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories at the Gordon Memorial College,



*The Jebel Moya  
excavations,  
1913–14 season.*

Khartoum, which, under the direction of Dr Andrew Balfour, did outstanding work towards the eradication of malaria. This was followed by Wellcome's archaeological enterprise, undertaken for the philanthropic motive of providing useful paid employment for the local population. This work has been described in detail elsewhere; here it is sufficient to say that he secured an archaeological concession over a wide area of the southern Sudan and for four seasons from 1910 to 1914 personally supervised the excavation of a primitive settlement at Jebel Moya near Sennar. He employed a large European team and, by the final season, 3000 local labourers. Much of the administrative work in London was handled by Thompson. The vast quantity of artefacts and human remains was shipped to London to await publication. Strictly speaking it did not form part of the historical medical collection and was intended for eventual distribution to appropriate museums in consultation with the Sudan Government, but for the time being it was stored with the other material.

The First World War brought the Jebel Moya excavations to an end, although Wellcome never relinquished his archaeological concession and always regarded the work as merely suspended. The



*Major J S Uribe in the  
House of Boulders at  
Jebel Moya, 1938.  
(George Weidenfeld &  
Nicolson Ltd)*

excavated material remained in store with publication indefinitely postponed. A token presence was retained at Jebel Moya in the person of Major J S Uribe, who had been on the staff in the last three seasons and was sent out every year as 'Camp Commandant' to spend the winter at the site, living in Wellcome's monumental 'House of Boulders'.<sup>12</sup>



It was early in 1910 that a definite opening date for the exhibition was set. The 17th International Congress of Medicine was due to be held in London in the summer of 1913 and Thompson realised that this would be an ideal opportunity for Wellcome to put his collection on display. In due course, once the decision had been announced, Wellcome was approached by the congress organisers and invited to make his museum the official museum of the congress. In July 1912 the title Historical Medical Museum officially replaced that of Historical Medical Exhibition.<sup>13</sup>



54a Wigmore Street,  
home of the Wellcome  
Historical Medical  
Museum 1911–1932.

The Museum was established early in 1911 at 54a Wigmore Street, in the heart of the medical district of the West End, although, unfortunately, it was decided that the adjacent premises at no. 54 should be used for a West End showroom for the firm's products. Wellcome insisted that the Museum and showroom were completely separate and their staffs were discouraged from associating,<sup>14</sup> but this distinction was not readily apparent to an outside observer and the juxtaposition seemed to confirm the belief that the Museum existed to serve the firm's publicity.

The move to Wigmore Street and the concentration on the arrangement of the display there did not affect the work of acquisition, which carried on unabated. Two notable purchases in 1911 were a collection of memorabilia relating to Edward Jenner, originally assembled by F J Mockler, a Gloucestershire bank manager, and the major part of the library of Dr J F Payne, purchased *en bloc* at Sotheby's. Payne was a notable medical historian of the time and former Harveian Librarian of the Royal College of Physicians of London. His library was rich in incunabula, early herbals and plague literature, and the acquisition of such a comprehensive working collection gave Wellcome's library a much improved coherence. Another remarkable achievement at this time was the rediscovery of Henry Hill Hickman (1800–1830) the Shropshire general practitioner whose pioneering experiments on surgical anaesthesia had left only tantalising traces in the published literature. Through diligent detective work, Thompson, with Amoruso's assistance, tracked down Hickman's original papers in the possession of his descendants, as well as the only known copy of his *A letter on suspended animation*, Ironbridge, 1824, and was able to borrow them for the Museum with other memorabilia.

The Wigmore Street premises still exist as John Bell & Croyden's pharmacy. Every inch of space was utilised and photographs of the displays show them as congested by present-day

standards, although they were presumably acceptable at the time. The commercial showroom took up most of the frontage on Wigmore Street, leaving only a narrow entrance passage, which was filled with ethnographic material and named the Hall of Primitive Medicine. Behind this were the main display galleries.

The most impressive room of the Museum was the galleried Hall of Statuary. Around this room there were statues of medical deities from various cultures, most of them casts or copies rather than originals. In the centre was a model of a Greek temple, which was filled with votive offerings; there were more amulets in cases, as well as surgical instruments, reproductions of illustrations from medical manuscripts and a specially commissioned series of paintings of great moments in medicine, many by Ernest Board (1877–1934), an artist specialising in this genre. The other ground-floor rooms were the Gallery of Pictures, which as well as paintings included special displays of the Jenner and Hickman material, and another room containing material from the Library.

Beyond this there was the basement. (The published guides always describe the basement as the ground floor and the ground floor as the first floor.<sup>15</sup>) Here there were sections on individual subjects such as chemistry, pharmacy, obstetrics and nursing, and a number of period rooms: there were a chapel of votive tablets, an alchemist's laboratory and a seventeenth-century apothecary's shop. Parts of this section seem to have had rather a flavour of Madame Tussaud's and



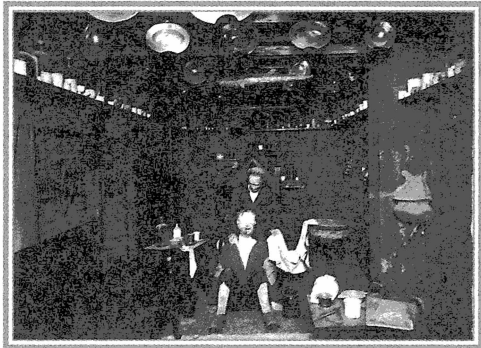
*The Hall of Statuary,  
1913.*

*Right:  
The Gallery of Pictures,  
1913.*



there was a definite tendency towards ghoulish sensationalism with the displays of instruments of torture and appliances for the restraint of the insane. There was, however, a great deal of noteworthy material, such as the facade and fittings of John Bell's pharmacy in Oxford Street, which Thompson had noticed in course of demolition.

Altogether the Museum undoubtedly provided a very impressive display. Not all the material was original. There were many reproductions and undoubtedly some fakes, especially among the paintings. Many exhibits were only on loan, although some of these were later purchased.



*Reconstruction of  
sixteenth-century  
barber-surgeon's shop.*

There was also a certain amateurish and romantic aspect to parts of the display, for which Thompson must be held responsible. One of his proposals, rejected by Wellcome, was that the lady stewardesses should be dressed as nurses from different periods.<sup>16</sup>

The Museum was open from June to October 1913, extending over a month on either side of the congress, and was a great success both with the congress delegates and with the medical profession generally. It was not at this point open to the general public. In his speech at the opening ceremony Wellcome announced that he intended to establish a Bureau of Scientific Research in London, under the direction of Dr Balfour from the Khartoum Laboratories, and that the Museum was to remain as a permanent institution affiliated to the Bureau.<sup>17</sup> It was thus firmly linked with his research interests rather than with the commercial company.

At the end of October the Museum closed down for reorganisation and was reopened without ceremony the following May, now officially entitled the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum. Wellcome took the title of Director for himself and Thompson became Curator. Administratively the Museum was affiliated to the new Wellcome Bureau of Scientific Research, as were the already existing Physiological and Chemical Research Laboratories and, from 1914, the Wellcome Museum of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene. (After the First World War this latter museum was expanded into a general teaching museum as the Wellcome Museum of Medical Science.) Dr Balfour, as Director-in-Chief, had overall authority but, as far as the Historical Museum was concerned, he was little more than a figurehead in view of Wellcome's rather anomalous position as the Museum's Director. Wellcome was in fact frequently absent, but he exercised constant supervision by correspondence and maintained a degree of close personal involvement which he did not attempt with the other research departments. A further anomaly was that the Bureau and its dependencies continued to be administered through the Burroughs Wellcome head office. In fact, the Museum and its staff probably had more to do with Snow Hill than with the Bureau.

Thompson was to be supported by a professional staff of four (Librarian, Secretary and two Museum Assistants), in addition to clerical, technical and manual staff. The Librarian, T W Huck, son of a railway signalman, had started his career at Darlington Public Library and had been since 1907 Librarian to the Saffron Walden Literary and Scientific Institution; he had published several papers on historical and bibliographical topics and was one of the very few holders of the Fellowship of the Library Association by examination and thesis. The Secretary, F G Shirreff, an Oxford graduate, had been on the staff of the Bodleian Library and was active in social work in the East End of London as a member of the Toynbee Hall community. Apart from his administrative duties, he was expected to assist the Librarian and to deputise for him and for the Curator when necessary. The second Museum Assistant, in addition to Amoruso, was G R Carline, a member of a distinguished family of artists, who had trained in anthropology at Oxford. Together they formed a young and energetic team and were clearly much esteemed by Wellcome. Indispensable figures on the manual staff were the chief carpenter, Harry Port, and the cockney factotum, Harry Stow.

The Museum was not in fact open all the year round, but was closed for cleaning for a month every spring and autumn. Admission was still in the first instance restricted to the medical and allied professions, but the lay public was no longer totally excluded. Organised groups were admitted by arrangement, often outside the normal opening hours, on Saturday afternoons or in the evenings; individuals required a letter of introduction from a medical practitioner (this also became the rule for the Wellcome Museum of Medical Science) and women were admitted only in the company of a medical man. Thompson was keen to deny charges of exclusivity<sup>18</sup> but the number of lay visitors never seems to have been large.



*The 'lost generation':*

*Above: T W Huck  
(1882–1918).*

*Below: F G Shirreff  
(1881–1916).*

In addition to the Museum's permanent display, temporary exhibitions were mounted from time to time, either at the Museum itself or elsewhere in conjunction with the meetings of various societies.<sup>19</sup> Thompson began to establish an academic profile for the Museum by publishing articles in scholarly journals and he became an active member of the Royal Society of Medicine's Section of the History of Medicine. In January 1914 the Secretary of the Society, J Y W MacAlister, had offered a site adjacent to the Society's house at 1 Wimpole Street for the erection of a permanent building for the Museum. This proposal for a close association between the Society and the Museum came to nothing but relations remained cordial.<sup>20</sup>

The Library remained closed to readers but was evidently accessible to the staff, who seem even to have had some borrowing rights. A very few eminent medical men were helped with specific queries. Most of Huck's time must have been taken up with accessioning and cataloguing; he drew up the outline of a classification scheme but did not progress far with detailed analysis. Book selection remained almost entirely in Thompson's hands.

Whether Wellcome had any immediate plans for the expansion of the Museum is not clear. The Wigmore Street premises were already inadequate: display space was filled to capacity and there was very little working space for the staff and no possibility of exploiting the material still in store. Wellcome in later years regretted opening the Museum at this undeveloped stage<sup>21</sup> but on balance it was fortunate that his perfectionism was overcome and that the Museum was allowed an opportunity to develop an active role. If there were any plans for expansion, they were set aside after the outbreak of the First World War.

#### WARTIME DISRUPTION

The Museum did not, as has sometimes been suggested, close down for the duration of the war.<sup>22</sup> It remained open, acquisition work continued, and the staff pressed on with the registration of the objects on display. The personnel of all grades, both male and female, was, however, gradually depleted by the demands of war work. Thompson himself, on his own initiative, undertook the organisation of a convalescent hospital in Harrow, with Dr Sambon as one of the medical officers.<sup>23</sup> His professional team was dispersed, never to reassemble. Shirreff and Huck were both killed on the Western Front. Amoruso, serving in Italy, was able to act as the Museum's agent in off-duty moments but did not return to England. Carline, who was medically unfit for the forces, was the last to leave, joining the Civil Service in 1917; on his release he went to the Pitt Rivers Museum and ultimately became Curator of the Bankfield Museum, Halifax.

Temporary staff filled the vacuum. The post of Secretary was kept filled but with a rapid turnover (one of the holders was Ronald Kidd, later the founder of the National Council for Civil Liberties), and by 1917 it became necessary to appoint a woman. The wartime Museum Assistants also were all female. Half-hearted attempts were made to find a woman



as temporary Librarian but in the end the work was left to the Secretary, whose time was already fully committed.<sup>24</sup>

An unintended side-effect of the war was that Paira Mall remained in India and did not return until 1921. He thus spent ten years on extensive travels in northern India, including Kashmir, Ladakh and Nepal, assembling a vast quantity of oriental manuscripts and artefacts, Sanskrit manuscripts forming the largest category. As a result the Library is now one of the country's largest repositories of oriental material.

#### P O S T - W A R   R E V I V A L

After the war the Museum returned to normal and continued to operate as an active small museum. It was open during regular hours and from time to time special visits were arranged for interested societies. Queen Mary herself visited the Museum in February 1921 and subsequently presented objects. In 1922 the Museum was the headquarters for the 3rd International Congress of the History of Medicine and in the same year its academic function was strengthened by the initiation of a monograph series, *Research Studies in Medical History*.<sup>25</sup> As far as the display was concerned, there was a little reorganisation – for example a new section on the medicine of the Great War was incorporated – but there was little scope for improvement with the restricted space. The main problem was the storage of reserve material. By this time there were four main stores in different parts of London: 76 Marylebone High Street; Sans Walk, Clerkenwell; 11a Bushey Hill Road, Peckham; 145 Crystal Palace Road, East Dulwich. The Museum's workshops were in St John's Wood. In the early 1920s the stores became even further diversified by the addition in 1921 of a disused stable at 8 Stratford Mews, close to the Museum, and in 1923 of another large store at Stanmore.

No attempt was made to rebuild a professional team comparable to that which had existed before the war. A new Librarian was appointed and the post of Secretary again became a male preserve but, once the registration of the objects on display had been completed, the Museum Assistant grade was allowed to wither away. The last appointee, J W Sinel, a Jersey-born naturalist and archaeologist who had served at Jebel Moya, was declared redundant early in 1921. Dr Kathleen Lander served briefly as Assistant Curator from October 1922 to June 1923, but otherwise Thompson's only professional colleague for Museum work was now the Secretary. From 1920 this was Captain Peter Johnston-Saint, a Cambridge graduate who had served as a regular officer in the Indian Army and Royal Flying Corps.

A notable post-war acquisition was the remainder of the Mockler collection of material relating to Edward Jenner and vaccination, purchased at Sotheby's in November 1918. This section consisted mainly of printed books and manuscripts, including one of the original drafts of Jenner's *Inquiry*.

The two immediate post-war Librarians were, for different reasons, able to achieve only limited success. Cyril Barnard, appointed at the beginning of 1919, was later to become the doyen of the UK medical library profession but was at this point aged 24 and only partly qualified. He was only allowed the title of Assistant Librarian. His principal achievement was to expand Huck's outline classification into a workable scheme which was to serve the Library for many years. (Classification was later to become his absorbing interest and his name is now preserved by the *Barnard Classification for Medical and Veterinary Libraries*.) In general he found his efforts to organise the Library frustrated by the demands of sale-room work<sup>26</sup> and he resigned in February 1921 to become Librarian of the Tropical Diseases Library, which ultimately developed into the Library of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine.

Right: C C Barnard  
(1894–1959).

Below: W R B Prideaux  
(1880–1932).



In his place, W R B Prideaux, Librarian of the Reform Club, offered his services on a part-time basis and took up his duties in July. In the intervening period (during which care of the Library reverted to the Secretary) the Library was moved from 54a Wigmore Street to the new store in Stratford Mews, thus perhaps taking its first step to an existence independent of the Museum. The idea of a part-time appointment seems hardly realistic but presumably a librarian of

Prideaux's standing was regarded as a prize worth securing. He was an active member of

the Library Association (like Huck he had obtained his fellowship by examination) and a Lecturer at the School of Librarianship at University College London. He had had medical library experience at the Royal College of Physicians of London and had assisted Sir William Osler in his researches on medical incunabula.<sup>27</sup> To supplement his own limited hours he was able in 1923–24 to obtain the services of one of his University College students, S A J Moorat, as a part-time unpaid assistant and together they were able to make good progress with the cataloguing backlog. Two large collections processed at this time were the collection of the Paris pharmacist Louis Debacq (mainly of chemistry and pharmacy) acquired in 1919 and a large collection of medical duplicates discarded by the Dutch Royal Library in 1923.

Prideaux clearly felt frustrated by the situation but his attempts to secure a full-time contract for himself and an honorarium for Moorat were unsuccessful.

During this period Dr Paira Mall worked intermittently at Stratford Mews on the cataloguing of the oriental acquisitions, but his efforts were hampered by recurrent ill-health and eventually his contract was allowed to lapse, although it was never formally terminated.



It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in the years immediately after the First World War little was done to develop the Museum beyond the basis established in 1913. Wellcome undoubtedly had other matters on his mind and it was not until 1925 that he turned his attention to the historical collections.

In the meantime (in response to pressure from his advisers to reduce his tax liability) he had reorganised his financial affairs. At the beginning of 1924 he brought all his business and research interests together into a single limited company, which he named the Wellcome Foundation Ltd. This unusual name for a commercial company has been a cause of confusion ever since. It is said that the name was adopted (in preference to Burroughs Wellcome Ltd) to placate the heads of the research laboratories, who objected to a name which would appear to identify them too closely with the commercial business. Wellcome became Governing Director of the Foundation but his duties were largely delegated to the Deputy Governing Director, G E Pearson, General Manager of the company since 1905. Instead, Wellcome concentrated his energies on his historical collections and on his philanthropic projects. Much of his time was devoted to work on behalf of the Christian mission to the North American Indians established by William Duncan, originally at Metlakahla in British Columbia and later at 'New Metlakahla' in Alaska.<sup>28</sup> He also supported the medical missionary work of the Cook family in Uganda.<sup>29</sup>



In August 1925 steps towards the expansion of the Museum and Library were initiated with the creation of two new senior posts of Conservator<sup>30</sup> and Chief Librarian. The new Chief Librarian, C R Hewitt, who took up his duties in September, was well qualified to direct a growing library: after 20 years at the Royal College of Surgeons of England he had been Librarian to the Royal Society of Medicine from its foundation in 1907 until 1919 and had then been appointed to develop a library service for the League of Red Cross Societies at Geneva. Since the demise of this project, which might have anticipated some of the functions of the World Health Organisation, in 1922, he had been unable to find a

*Above: C R Hewitt  
(1870-1931).*

*Left: L W G Malcolm  
(1887-1946).*

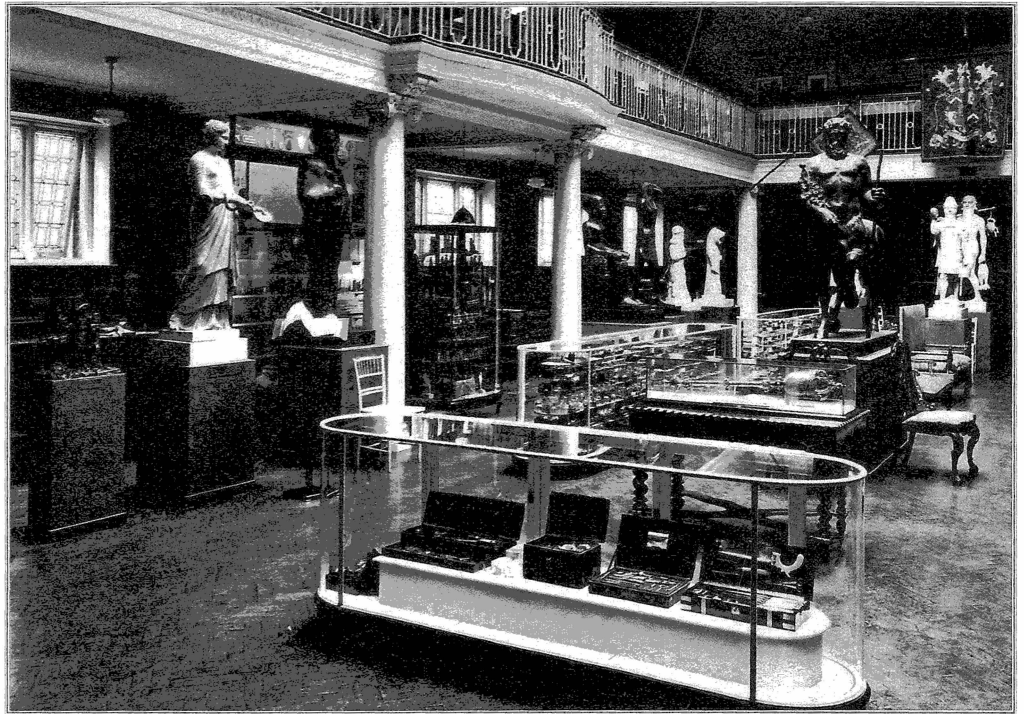


library post and had been employed on editorial work for Heinemanns the publishers.

The Conservator, L W G Malcolm, an Australian by birth and an anthropologist by training, arrived from the Bristol Museum in October. His background is undoubtedly a clue to the direction in which Wellcome intended the Museum to develop. Thompson was 63 and it seems to have been expected that until his retirement he would concentrate on the medical material while

Malcolm worked on the anthropological and general collections.<sup>31</sup> This arrangement lasted for a little over a month and in early November Thompson was abruptly forced to resign.

It is evident that Wellcome had for some time been dissatisfied with various aspects of Thompson's work and, in particular, had come to feel that he was spending more time on research than on his curatorial duties. Although this was a situation of long standing it had never received Wellcome's formal approval. Wellcome finally brought matters to a head over the book *Chronologia medica*, published in 1923, on which Thompson had collaborated with the surgeon-historian Sir D'Arcy Power with a contract for royalties, although much of the work was done in Museum hours and the Museum's facilities were used for typing and photography. He had promised to regularise matters by assigning his royalties to the Museum but had so far failed to do so. It was typical of Wellcome's rigid standards that he never forgave Thompson even though the breach of contract was academic: no royalties had been paid. Superficial decencies were maintained: Thompson received six months' salary and a pension,<sup>32</sup> but no public acknowledgement of his long service to the Museum was ever made. The incident did some harm to Wellcome's



*The Hall of Statuary as rearranged by Malcolm.*

reputation among the medical establishment. Power and Sir Arthur Keith (Conservator of the Hunterian Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons) were both sympathetic to Thompson but were reluctant to antagonise Wellcome.<sup>33</sup> Keith did, however, arrange a part-time appointment for Thompson at the Royal College of Surgeons as Curator of its historical collection.

The Museum was closed for refurbishment from December 1925 to May 1926 and a ceremonial reopening was held in October; Sir Arthur Keith reluctantly agreed to deliver the main

address. Wellcome himself was unable to be present but Dr C M Wenyon, Balfour's successor as Director-in-Chief, who represented him, stressed that the Museum under its new regime 'will form a starting-point for developments which will be continued along truly scientific lines'.<sup>34</sup>

The general plan was not very much changed. Some of the more sensational exhibits were modified and there was a general improvement in lighting and design. The section on the Great War was expanded. Arrangements for access were improved: the Museum was open all the year round and members of the public were admitted on written application to the Conservator. In general, the Museum continued as before, with an increase in special visits and evening receptions with refreshments at the Welbeck Palace Hotel, which was adjacent to the Museum with direct communication. In 1927 a special exhibition was held to commemorate the centenary of the birth of Lord Lister and attracted considerable favourable attention.

Collecting continued on a scale greater than before with Johnston-Saint gradually taking over Thompson's role as principal collecting agent. Hitherto he had been generally restricted to administrative duties but under the new regime he began to assume wider responsibilities (he was still Malcolm's only professional assistant). In 1926 he was entrusted with the assembly of material for the Lister exhibition and it was quickly realised that he had a flair for this kind of work. In the following year, therefore, he was sent on a collecting tour to France and Spain and the experiment proved successful enough to justify its repetition in 1928.

#### THE LIBRARY 1925-1928

Hewitt brought fresh energy to the organisation of the Library. In fairness to his predecessors, it should be emphasised that they were all able men and could have achieved more had they received the necessary resources. The first requirement was an adequate staff. A junior assistant was appointed in October 1925 and at the end of the year Prideaux left and his former student-assistant, Moorat, joined the staff as Assistant Librarian (later Sub-Librarian). An Oxford graduate, he had come to library work at the age of 30, after war service and a period with the War Graves Commission; by temperament he was reserved and scholarly, and his cataloguing skills complemented Hewitt's abilities as an organiser.

An opportunity for a major acquisition for the Library occurred in October 1926 with the sale of the Kurt Wolff collection of incunabula at Frankfurt-am-Main. Hewitt had by this time located over 400 incunabula in the Library (including 67 from the William Morris sale and 50 from J F Payne's library). He and Johnston-Saint attended the sale and were able to secure 117 of the 824 lots, equivalent to the accessions from the Morris and Payne collections combined.

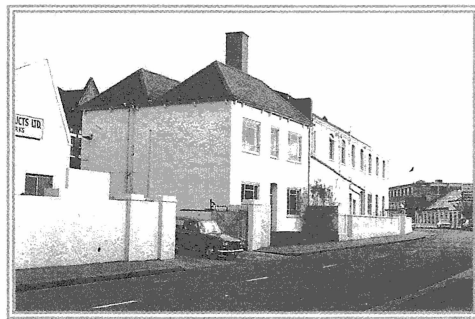
In these years, good progress was made with the transformation of the collection of books into a working library. The premises at 8 Stratford Mews were, however, grossly inadequate and the small staff could never keep pace with the constant stream of new acquisitions.



On the surface, therefore, by 1927 the Museum was well established as an active and successful institution. There were, however, various problems. Little had been done to fulfil the promise of new developments made at the time of Malcolm's appointment. Display space was limited and there were neither the staff nor the facilities for work to be done on the material in store. The rate and volume of new acquisitions was again straining the Museum's storage capacity and it was necessary to take on an additional store at Weybridge. The Museum's public image still suffered from the juxtaposition of the commercial showrooms. The Library was inadequately accommodated and continued to be closed to readers, much to the displeasure of Dr Charles Singer, lecturer in the history of medicine at University College London;<sup>35</sup> there was also friction between Hewitt and Malcolm over library policy.<sup>36</sup> Malcolm himself was still without professional assistance apart from Johnston-Saint, who was frequently absent on collecting tours.

Eventually steps were taken to deal with the most pressing of these difficulties. The storage problem was eased by the acquisition in 1927 of the former Burndeft wireless factory on the

*The former Burndeft factory, November 1972 (since demolished). Part of the Hythe Road frontage, including the Library caretaker's house behind which a gable-end of the Library is visible. (Hammersmith & Fulham Archives)*



Hythe Road industrial estate near Willesden Junction, a desolate area surrounded by factories and railway lines. The new premises began to be occupied in March 1928 and most of the Museum's reserve material was concentrated there. All the outlying stores were cleared and disposed of except for those at Stanmore and Stratford Mews. Willesden now became the

home of the Library, which gained increased space at the cost of becoming even more inaccessible. Also in 1928 the commercial showroom was moved to nearby premises at 10 Henrietta Street (now Henrietta Place), allowing the Museum to expand into the whole of the Wigmore Street site with Stratford Mews as a useful annexe a few minutes' walk away.

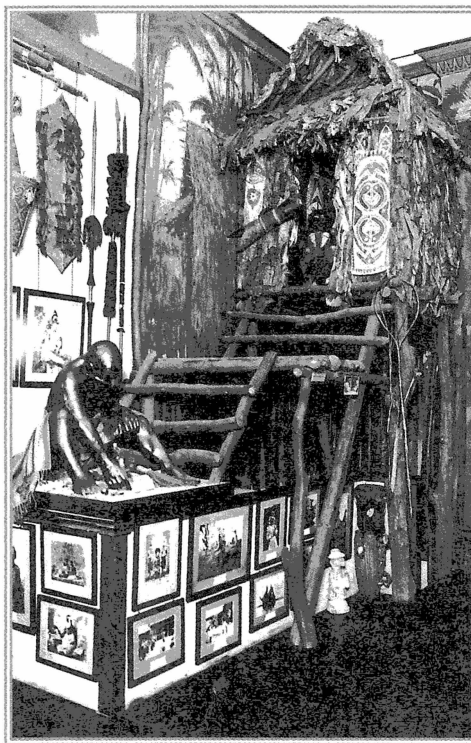
The pivotal figure in these developments was Harry Port, appointed Superintendent of Stores and Works in 1926, having been the museum's chief carpenter since 1911. He headed a staff of about 30, including carpenters and restorers, and was responsible for collecting material from the sale-rooms – often as many as 60 sales a month – finding space for it at Willesden and producing it if required. He had a clerical staff for accessioning material at the stores and organised all transport and maintenance work for the Museum and the mounting of exhibitions. His responsibilities also included the care of Wellcome's house in Gloucester Gate where he was often kept at work until late at night.<sup>37</sup>

At the same time the professional staff was enlarged out of all recognition. In May 1928 a professional artist, D Pender Davidson, was appointed to take charge of the prints and paintings,

which had previously been divided between the Library and Museum, respectively. His department was located at Willesden. In October A L Dean, formerly Secretary to the Wellcome Bureau of Scientific Research, became Secretary to the Museum and Johnston-Saint was relieved of his administrative duties to become 'Foreign Secretary'. Shortly afterwards a 'scientific staff' of seven was established, most of them young graduates in archaeology or anthropology. Two who were to spend the rest of their working lives with the Museum were the prehistoric archaeologist A D Lacaille and the anthropologist Sona Rosa Burstein. The Library staff was also increased, gaining two qualified assistants in addition to Hewitt and Moorat.

It must be admitted that this rapid expansion of the Museum staff was a little premature. Malcolm had envisaged a structured training programme for the new assistants<sup>38</sup> but this did not materialise and in fact they could not really be used effectively as long as the Museum remained at Wigmore Street. Working space there was inadequate and it was soon found that Willesden was not a practicable alternative.<sup>39</sup> Scholarly work was difficult without access to the Library and, since Thompson's departure, research and publication had generally been discouraged.<sup>40</sup>

In December 1928 Wellcome was called to give evidence before the Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries.<sup>41</sup> The Commission was primarily interested in his views on proposals for the establishment of a National Ethnographic Museum and much of the discussion was concerned with general anthropological matters and with Wellcome's work in the Sudan. The published minutes of evidence are, however, valuable as representing the clearest exposition of his views on the past and future developments of the Museum. He stressed his conception of the history of medicine as essentially a branch of anthropology and emphasised that the display existing at Wigmore Street was only intended as an interim measure. Its development had been held back by the lack of suitable premises and by the loss of many of his staff in the war. He recognised that a building four or five times larger than 54 Wigmore Street was urgently required but saw this also as a temporary expedient to allow for the planning of even larger premises as the Museum's ultimate home.



*Head-hunter's hut,  
south east New Guinea,  
in the Hall of  
Primitive Medicine.*

Whatever Wellcome's view on the ideal time-scale for the future planning of the Museum and Library may have been, his hand was shortly to be forced by circumstances. The lease on the Wigmore Street premises was due to expire at the end of 1931 and a new site would have to be found in any case; the search seems to have begun late in 1929. Bloomsbury was favoured, perhaps because of its nearness to the British Museum, but the area was under pressure from the expanding University of London and eventually Wellcome settled on a site at 183–193 Euston Road which was already in his possession, housing the Wellcome Bureau of Scientific Research and the Wellcome Museum of Medical Science. Bounded on three sides by the Euston Road, Gordon Street and Gower Place, the site was cleared during 1930 in preparation for the erection of the new building.

Meanwhile the Museum continued with its work at Wigmore Street. The removal of the showroom had made some rearrangement possible on the ground floor. Special receptions and other functions continued to foster the Museum's public profile and in 1930 two major special exhibitions were mounted: one in April, in conjunction with the Section of Anaesthetics of the Royal Society of Medicine, to commemorate the centenary of the death of Henry Hill Hickman; the second in December as part of the international celebration of the tercentenary of the European use of cinchona. A valuable recruit to the staff at this time was A W J Haggis, who had recently joined the publicity department of the Wellcome Foundation after long service with Batsfords the publishers; he was seconded to the Museum to assist with the cinchona exhibition and remained there afterwards. He was a skilled and experienced researcher, with a particular interest in the medieval period, and was used as a researcher for special projects. Following his work on cinchona he travelled the country to photograph the remains of monastic infirmaries and church carvings of medical interest; later he made a systematic search in record offices for material on episcopal medical licensing. Malcolm also was active in research, which culminated in 1933 with the award of a Cambridge PhD for his thesis *Medical museums: an historical and bibliographical study*.<sup>42</sup>

#### FOREIGN COLLECTING

In his new role of Foreign Secretary, Johnston-Saint became a full-time roving ambassador for the Museum. He was unquestionably a man of the world, an enthusiastic motorist, traveller and linguist with a wide circle of acquaintances. It was to his advantage that he always maintained a good rapport with Wellcome. As well as collecting, he represented the Museum at international conferences and developed contacts with allied institutions and individuals. His reports deserve a place in the annals of inter-war travel literature. Far from being a dry list of objects acquired, they are full of local colour. He was careful to record popular medical customs and beliefs in the areas



be admitted that he seems to have seen no inconsistency in himself enlisting the help of the local Burroughs Wellcome representatives when necessary.

Johnston-Saint was by no means the only person who collected abroad for Wellcome at this time. Among those particularly concerned with ethnographic material were Miss Phyllis Kemp, who made a collecting tour in the Balkans, and Miss Winifred Blackman, who spent several years collecting material relating to the fellahin of Egypt. Dr M D W Jeffreys collected material in Nigeria and an artist, W Langdon Kihn, was commissioned to paint portraits of American Indians. Miss Catherine Georgievsky, a member of the Museum's scientific staff, made several successful tours in Czechoslovakia, and other agents were employed elsewhere.

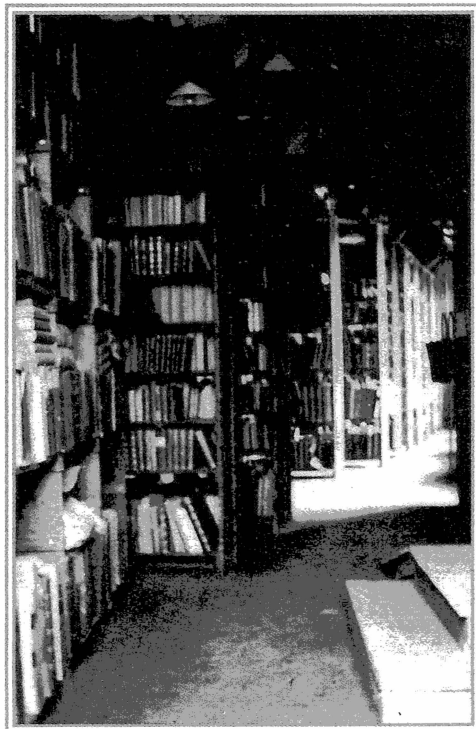
#### THE LIBRARY 1928-1932

The move to Willesden in 1928 gave the Library more spacious premises which, if they left something to be desired, were at least structurally an improvement on Stratford Mews. Even the physical isolation and depressing environment seem to have had the advantage of strengthening the *esprit de corps* of the staff and a steady routine of work was established. Consignments of books were unpacked by the library assistants (usually several years after receipt), accessioned, roughly catalogued ('carded') and sorted by subjects. Detailed cataloguing and classification to a high bibliographical standard was carried out at a later stage by the Librarian and Sub-Librarian, who also dealt with the more important acquisitions in the first instance. Acquisitions work provided practically the only relief: the assistants attended the London auction rooms and both Hewitt and

Moorat were from time to time sent to inspect collections on the Continent. There was a steady turnover at the assistant level but a high standard was maintained and all those who served at Willesden went on to distinguished professional careers, usually in the medical library field.

Although no readers were admitted, postal enquiries were dealt with as far as possible and a limited service was provided for the Museum staff; they had no access to the shelves or to the catalogues, but books were sent up to Wigmore Street on request. Books and manuscripts were also included in the Museum's displays.

Two important large collections were acquired in 1930. A rationalisation of the



*Library interior,  
November 1937,  
photographed by J L  
Thornton, library  
assistant, afterwards  
Librarian to  
St Bartholomew's  
Hospital Medical  
College.*

medical libraries of Manchester under the auspices of the university led to the sale *en bloc* of some 8000 duplicate books and journals. Many of the books were obstetrical and had belonged to prominent Manchester obstetricians, but the runs of journals were probably the most valuable addition, as this was an area in which the Library had hitherto been weak. The other major purchase was a substantial part of the library of the historian Dr Ernst Darmstaedter of Munich. This collection greatly strengthened the Library's holdings in alchemy and early chemistry.

Hewitt was taken ill with cancer in August 1930 and died a year later without returning to duty, although recovery had several times seemed to be in prospect. Prideaux applied for the vacancy, but it was felt that Moorat's long period in effective charge during Hewitt's illness could not be overlooked, and he was confirmed in office as Chief Librarian at the beginning of 1932. The senior assistant, S B Gardner, became Sub-Librarian. Both men were excellent cataloguers and reference librarians and were well qualified for the limited role of the Library as it then stood. The appointments were less auspicious for its long-term development, since neither was a natural leader. Moorat was by temperament something of a recluse and not easily approachable (though he was prepared to fight hard in defence of the rights of the Library and its staff) and Gardner was physically handicapped by a spinal condition.

Wellcome's policy of keeping the Library closed was clearly frustrating for the Museum staff, but it seems to have been not entirely uncongenial to Moorat, who resented the subordination of the Library to the Museum and had ambitions for independent status. He may well have seen a political advantage in the Library's isolation.

## THE NEW BUILDING

Wellcome's new building on the Euston Road site was completed in 12 months between March 1931 and March 1932. Septimus Warwick, the architect, had specialised in town halls and public buildings both in England and Canada and had recently been employed on the remodelling of the Union Club in Trafalgar Square for Canada House. He designed an imposing building in a conventional neoclassical style, though with some modernistic internal features.

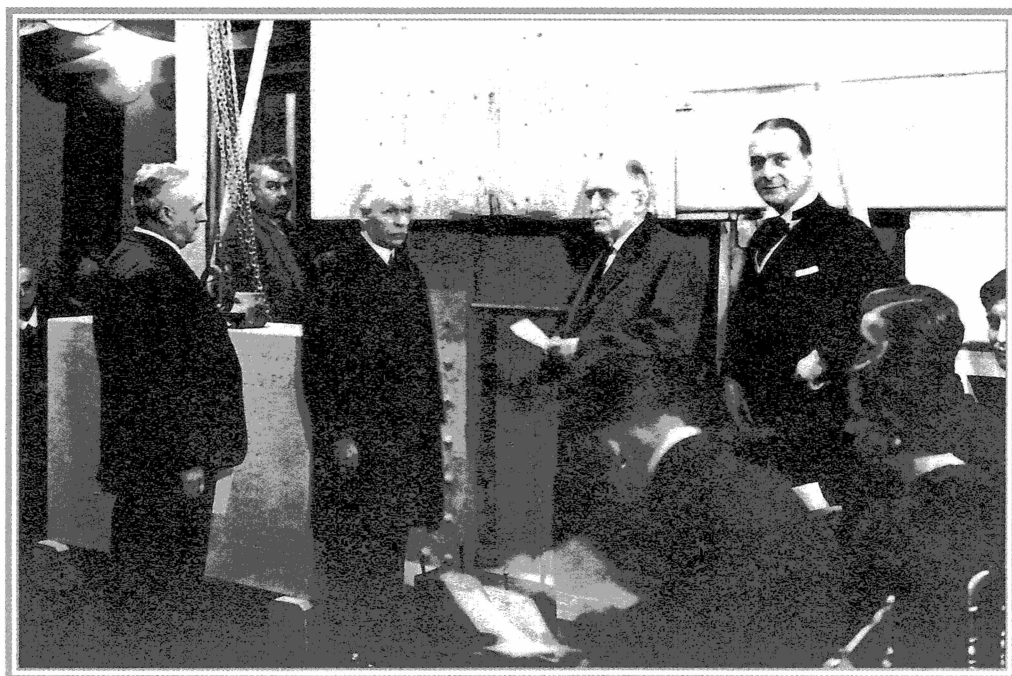
The building was formally inaugurated on 25 November 1931 when the cornerstone was laid by Lord Moynihan, President of the Royal College of Surgeons. It was named the Wellcome Research Institution and was intended as a headquarters for all Wellcome's research interests. (In 1955 it was renamed the Wellcome Building and, on the grounds of familiarity, this name will be used here.) The Wellcome Museum of Medical Science occupied the ground floor, with the offices of the Director-in-Chief; there were laboratories on the top floors and in between the Historical Museum was to have the first, second and third floors with four large galleries on each floor. The apple of Wellcome's eye was the galleried Hall of Statuary spanning the second and third floors, designed as an enlarged version of the Hall of Statuary at 54 Wigmore Street. There

was no room in the building for the Library, which remained in purdah at Willesden, but Wellcome seems to have hoped that eventually he might be able to acquire the adjoining Unity House, headquarters of the National Union of Railwaymen, and extend the building westwards. The building was deliberately left unfinished on that side. The other major absentee was the Physiological Research Laboratories, for which a central London site was inappropriate. These had been located at Beckenham since 1922.

Perhaps it was the publicity surrounding the erection of this building which finally brought public recognition to Wellcome as a patron of scientific research, for it was in 1932 that he was knighted and elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and an Honorary Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of England.

He was now nearly 80 but for the moment he seemed to have no loss of energy and continued to embark on new projects and to make ambitious plans for the future. He returned to his interest in archaeology in 1932 by joining in the financing of excavations at Tell ed Duweir in Palestine, site of the biblical Lachish. Wellcome never personally visited these excavations but he took a great interest and arranged for finds from the expedition to be exhibited in London, including the famous Lachish letters dating from the destruction of the city by the Babylonians in 587 BC. He also revived his interest in the company and took a leading part in the organisation of an exhibit for the Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago in 1933–34, including the work of the research laboratories and museums. There were, however, signs that his ability to conceive new plans was outstripping his capacity to formulate and execute them in concrete terms. He is quoted as having said at this time ‘My plans exist in my mind like a jigsaw puzzle and gradually I shall be able to piece it together’;<sup>44</sup> his historical collections were to suffer from this lack of control.

*Wellcome Research  
Institution, Cornerstone  
Ceremony,  
25 November 1931.  
Left to Right: W Elliott  
(Trollope & Cols),  
G E Pearson  
(Wellcome's deputy),  
H S Wellcome,  
Septimus Warwick.*







*Entrance Hall,  
Wellcome Research  
Institution.*

The Museum closed down in August 1932 and was moved to the new building. This should have marked the beginning of a new era with the Museum expanding to its full potential but, sadly, this never materialised. Wellcome decided that before the Museum could be reopened it should be completely reorganised and all the material which had been accumulating in store for years should at last be unpacked, sorted and properly registered, beginning with the ethnographic materials. He had every intention of supervising all these operations himself and Malcolm's attempt to arrange an ethnographic gallery on his own initiative was not well received.<sup>45</sup>

The work proved protracted and, inevitably, staff morale deteriorated. There was no longer any contact with the public and the future seemed to offer nothing but an indefinite prospect of registration work, which was hampered by the continuing lack of direct access to the Library. The large, empty new building was a less congenial workplace than Wigmore Street and the staff found it difficult to adjust to sharing a building with other departments with which they had little in common. Several members of staff left and were not replaced.<sup>46</sup> Pender Davidson died in November 1933. Wellcome himself was spending much of his time in America and in his absence Malcolm seemed unable to offer positive leadership; he eventually resigned in December 1934 and found employment first as Organiser of Museum Activities with the Education Department of the London County Council and then as Curator of the Horniman Museum.

Johnston-Saint was now appointed Conservator and under his leadership the Museum recovered a sense of purpose.<sup>47</sup> The work of registration was reorganised on more systematic lines, new staff were recruited, and a small, basic reference library was provided at Euston Road. A start was made on arranging the galleries. Johnston-Saint was anxious to set up a temporary general display

for the public in the Hall of Statuary but Wellcome continued to insist that the Museum must remain totally closed until all the rearrangement was complete. The arrangement as it developed was reminiscent of Wigmore Street. The display began with cultural sequences on the third floor and part of the second, covering cosmogony, prehistory, primitive peoples, the classical era and the Egyptian, oriental and pre-Columbian civilisations. It then became subject-oriented with sections on hygiene, religion and medicine, surgical instruments, anatomy and physiology, and pharmacy and materia medica. Johnston-Saint had found that the subject displays had been popular with visitors to Wigmore Street, but among his staff there was a feeling that the plan was confusing and that a chronological arrangement would be preferable.

Although the Museum remained closed, except for the occasional favoured visitor allowed to inspect the work in progress, a vestigial public profile was maintained at exhibitions elsewhere. The Chicago Exposition of 1933–34 has been mentioned above and in 1935 Johnston-Saint mounted a display in Madrid for the 10th International Congress of the History of Medicine. This was accompanied by an illustrated booklet *Spanish influence on the progress of medical science, with an account of the Wellcome Research Institution*, issued in English, French, Spanish and Italian. A display was also planned for the Exposition Internationale de Paris in 1937.

By this time Wellcome's health was at last beginning to fail. He was taken ill while in America in 1935 and spent a long period in the Mayo Clinic. By the summer of 1936 he had recovered sufficiently to return to England but died almost immediately after his arrival, on 26 July. When his will was publicised it was found that he had made imaginative plans for the future of his enterprises. Ownership of the Wellcome Foundation Ltd was to be vested in a board of Trustees, who were to distribute the firm's profits for the support of medical research and the history of medicine. Separate provision was made for Mounteney Wellcome, who spent the rest of his life farming in Buckinghamshire.

#### THE TRUSTEES TAKE CHARGE

The five original Trustees combined expertise in the worlds of business and science. The three business Trustees (G H Hudson Lyall and L C Bullock, solicitors, and Martin Price, accountant) were partners in the firms which had long been Wellcome's professional advisers. The scientific Trustees were Sir Henry Dale, Director of the National Institute for Medical Research, and Professor T R Elliott of University College Hospital. Dale, who had been Director of the Wellcome Physiological Research Laboratories from 1906 to 1914, was the only Trustee with inside experience of the Wellcome organisation.

After the resolution of certain legal difficulties the Trustees held their first formal meeting in January 1937. Hudson Lyall, the Chairman, was in poor health and died in May 1938. Dale, who succeeded him in the Chairmanship, was to dominate the work of the Trust for the next 30 years.

The Trustees found themselves facing a formidable range of responsibilities. They were the legal heirs to all Wellcome's enterprises, including the company, the research laboratories, the historical collections and the archaeological projects. The most immediate problem was that Wellcome had done nothing to minimise his liability for death duties and there was duty to be paid on all the firm's assets, including the Museum and Library.

The archaeological enterprises were a relatively straightforward matter. There was no question of resuming work at Jebel Moya and the Trustees recruited staff to work on the publication of the results of the pre-war excavations. Material that had been moved from store to store for more than 20 years was at last unpacked and examined. The Trustees decided to continue to support the excavations at Lachish and to pay for their publication in due course<sup>48</sup> but this was a finite and limited commitment and they did not regard archaeology as forming a permanent part of their responsibilities. The Lachish excavations were brought to an end in 1938 by the murder by bandits of the director, J L Starkey. His assistant, Olga Tufnell, completed the final season's work and devoted the next 20 years to the work of publication.

The Trustees did not wish to be involved in the running of the company except in their role of shareholders but, as the operation of the Trust depended on the company's profits, it was their duty to ensure that it was efficiently run. Under Wellcome's will his position as Governing Director had been inherited by G E Pearson, who was aged 68 and had been Wellcome's deputy since 1905. A staid Yorkshireman, over the years he had developed a cautious and conservative style of management, constrained in part by the need to maintain large cash reserves for Wellcome's collecting and other activities, and for at least a decade the company had been drifting into stagnation. There was only a rudimentary Board of Directors. The Trustees realised that changes were essential and were also concerned that Pearson's position as Governing Director gave him potentially autocratic powers over the research departments and the historical collections, as well as in commercial matters. For the time being, however, they could move only slowly and cautiously.

The Historical Museum and Library presented a disconcerting prospect. Neither was providing a service to the public. The Museum was in process of arrangement but the Library was still in need of a home in central London before readers could be admitted. Nominally the Museum was a museum of the history of medicine but in addition to medical objects there were large ethnographical, archaeological and oriental collections to say nothing of ship models, arms and armour, furniture and miscellaneous material. The contents of the Library were similarly diverse in subject matter.

The first decision reached was that there was no possibility of developing the large general museum which Wellcome had apparently envisaged and that the Museum was to concentrate firmly on the history of medicine. Johnston-Saint and Moorat were instructed to identify



*S A J Moorat*  
*(1892–1974),*  
*Chief Librarian*  
*1932–1946.*

irrelevant artefacts and library materials, and a series of sales was organised by Harrods and Allsops. Between December 1937 and July 1939 27 sales were held, including the disposal of furniture and effects from Wellcome's house. Smaller lots of material were sold through other auction houses and some objects were presented to appropriate museums. The reopening of the Museum remained indefinitely postponed, but the display promised for the Exposition Internationale de Paris in 1937 was allowed to proceed.

The question of the future accommodation of the Library was left in abeyance. Professor Elliott's suggestion that the Hall of Statutory might be used was firmly rejected by Moorat, who argued that the room was only suitable as a 'Grand Central Reading and Students' Room' and that if, contrary to Wellcome's intention, the Library was to be fitted into the existing building it would require an entire floor. He recommended that it should remain at Willesden, where the work of cataloguing and of identifying material for disposal could be carried on without interruption and might be completed in five years.<sup>49</sup>

The formulation of a policy for the development of the Museum and Library was a delicate matter. Dale and Elliott, as scientific Trustees, felt particularly responsible but were reluctant to act without expert advice. In any case they could not take any action which might seem to infringe Pearson's jurisdiction. They were aware of friction between Library and Museum and between Johnston-Saint and his scientific staff, but they felt unable to intervene. They were, however, able to liberalise the conditions of service, in particular the restriction on publication.

In June 1938 a request by Elliott for information on the history of the Library gave Moorat an opportunity to set out his grievances in a strongly worded report. He recommended the separation of the Library from the Museum, arguing (on dubious grounds) that Wellcome had intended the Library to serve all the research departments, not simply the Historical Museum.<sup>50</sup> He called for a separate budget, pointing out that Library expenditure was already recorded separately in the Museum's accounts, and urged that purchasing, which had practically ceased with Wellcome's death, should be resumed, with the Librarian having full responsibility for book selection. The salary scales for the Library staff had always, in his opinion, been disgracefully low and he drew the attention of the Trustees to the position of his senior assistant, F N L Poynter, who was overdue for promotion after eight years of service, during which he had studied for professional qualifications and a degree, so that he was 'except for length of service . . . actually more highly qualified in every respect than the present Sub-Librarian'.<sup>51</sup>

The Trustees could find no evidence to justify altering the Library's subordination to the Museum, but they agreed that Library purchasing should be resumed and that Moorat should be allowed a small budget of his own. Poynter was promoted to Sub-Librarian in August, remaining junior to Gardner. The Library remained closed to readers.

Development of the Museum and Library, therefore, was for the time being left to continue

along existing lines and the new museum galleries gradually took shape. If the overall plan had its questionable aspects, the individual sections were under the care of competent scholars, reinforced where necessary by specialist consultants. The eminent pharmacologist Dr David Hooper had worked for several years on the *materia medica* collection and the writer and artist Chiang Yee was recruited to arrange the section on Chinese Medicine. Refugees from Germany began to make their presence felt: Dr Richard Walzer began the sorting of the Library's Arabic manuscripts and Dr Otto Samson, who was primarily employed on the Jebel Moya material, devoted part of his time to the Museum's Tibetan collections. By the outbreak of the Second World War in August 1939 the arrangement of the second and third floors was well advanced and the first floor had been begun. The principal feature there was a street of pharmacies from various periods.

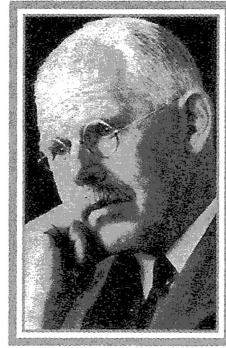
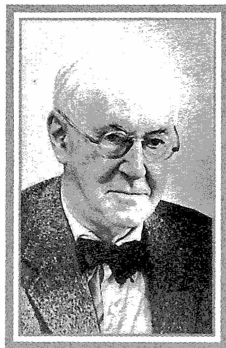
Johnston-Saint was much occupied with the selection of material for sale and at the same time took the opportunity to organise a general clearance of the Willesden store. A vast quantity of miscellaneous rubbish was sent for scrap: the stones salvaged from the Lister Ward at Glasgow when it was demolished; three tons of old steel safe doors, worn-out lifting tackle and carpenter's tools; two tons of rotten wood; five tons of old photograph albums and waste paper. Two thousand paperback novels were sent to the Red Cross. The collections of arms and armour included old service rifles, which were offered to the Home Guard.

#### THE WAR YEARS

Paradoxically, the coming of the Second World War was to provide the Trustees with expert advice on the future development of the historical collection. Among the Jewish scholars whose position under Nazi rule was causing concern was Professor Max Neuburger, founder of the *Institut für Geschichte der Medizin* at Vienna. Prompted by Charles Singer and Sir D'Arcy Power, the Trustees agreed to offer him a provisional appointment; he was thus able to secure a place on the last plane to leave Vienna before the outbreak of war and arrived in London on 26 August 1939, practically destitute. The Trustees at once commissioned him to assess the Library and Museum and he accordingly produced reports on both. His report on the Museum came down firmly in favour of a chronological arrangement. He found the contents of the Library bewilderingly eclectic; nevertheless he recommended that material should not be discarded without careful consideration and urged that priority should be given to the provision of an adequate reference collection.

In 1940 the other outstanding difficulties began to be resolved. The Trustees succeeded in outflanking Pearson by the appointment in May of T R G Bennett as Managing Director. Pearson continued as Chairman and Governing Director but retired at the end of the year. Bennett worked hard to revitalise the company and to develop a sense of common purpose among the various divisions. He proposed to the Trustees that the post of Director of the

*Left to right:*  
*Sir Henry Hallett Dale*  
*(1875–1968),*  
*Max Neuburger*  
*(1868–1955),*  
*S H Daukes*  
*(1879–1947),*  
*A W J Haggis*  
*(1889–1946).*



Historical Museum, which had been in abeyance since Wellcome's death, should be revived, pointing out that this would provide useful employment for Dr S H Daukes, Director of the Wellcome Museum of Medical Science; his Museum had been dismantled on the outbreak of war, leaving him practically redundant, and Bennett was anxious not to lose his services to some other form of war work. As he was aged 61 his appointment would give the Trustees a useful breathing space to select a permanent Director, preferably medically qualified.

Dr Daukes, who took up his new post at the beginning of 1941, was well suited to preside over a period of consolidation during wartime restrictions. Although not a historian, he was a medical man and had been involved in the techniques of museum display since 1919; as a senior and well-respected figure in the Wellcome organisation he was easily accepted by the staff and was able to provide a mediating influence in areas where friction had arisen. His main task was to prepare a plan for the reorganisation of the Museum on chronological lines. It was not expected that the plan could be implemented until after the war; many of the staff had joined the forces and parts of the Building had been temporarily assigned to commercial departments. (This was increased after the destruction of the Snow Hill offices on the night of 10 May 1941, in the same air raid which destroyed the House of Commons.)

Johnston-Saint continued as Conservator and executive head of the Museum. Neuburger ceased to be a consultant and was officially appointed to the staff in March 1941, and in August Haggis was promoted to Assistant Conservator; Moorat now reported directly to the Director rather than to the Conservator, and the Library thus took a step towards equality with the Museum. (The title Wellcome Historical Medical Library seems to have been adopted at about this time.<sup>52</sup>) The problem of the Library's accommodation was settled by the definite allocation of the Hall of Statuary; this monumental room, although much admired by Wellcome, had never fitted easily into the Museum's general scheme. The planning of the new Library seems to have been entirely delegated to Poynter and was suspended when he was conscripted into the Royal Air Force in September. Many books had by this time been transferred from Willesden, some to the strongrooms in the basement, others to the Hall of Statuary itself, where some were packed into cases and used as blast barriers against the windows. The new steel-framed building offered better security than

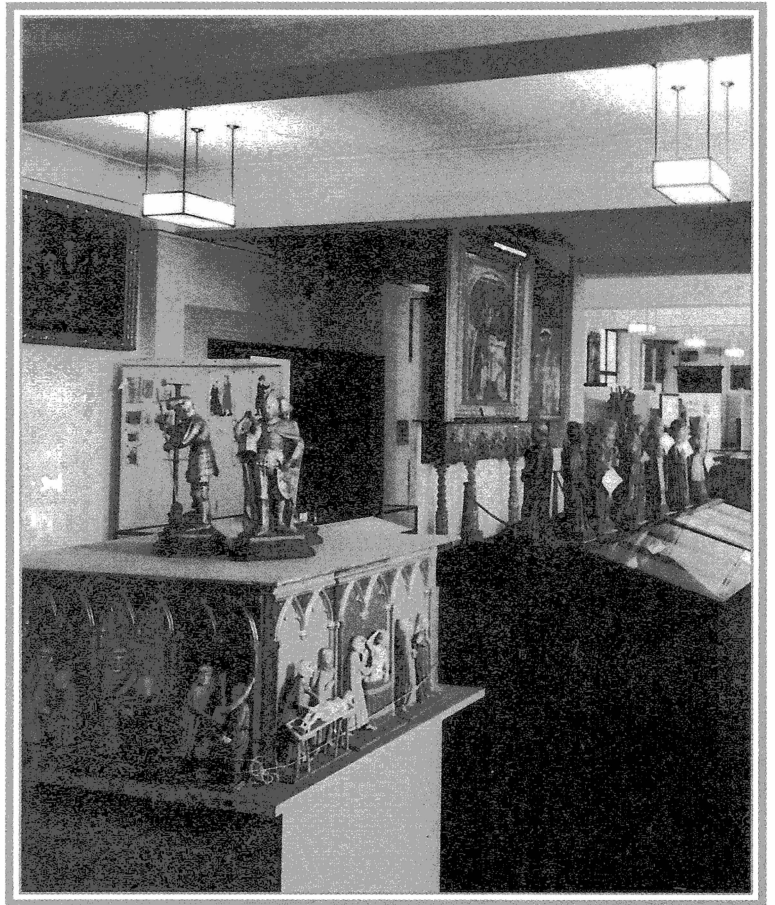
the dilapidated premises at Willesden and survived the war with only minor bomb damage.

In the Museum the war years were spent by the depleted staff in preparing plans for the new galleries. Under Daukes's plan, the sequence was to begin as before on the third floor with cosmogony, evolution, prehistory and the medicine of primitive peoples and the Far East. The second floor was assigned to Egypt, the Ancient Near East, India, Persia, and the classical and medieval periods. Medicine from the Renaissance onwards was to be displayed on the first floor. Daukes also envisaged closer liaison with the Museum of Medical Science and the possibility of shared facilities and services.

Haggis, who was now responsible for the medieval gallery, continued to be assigned to special projects; he was commissioned by the Trustees to write a memorial biography of Wellcome and produced an impressive typescript draft, which progressed no further; in 1943–45 he was given leave of absence to study at Oxford and complete his research on episcopal medical licensing as a DPhil thesis.

Moorat and Gardner remained at Willesden throughout the war, in conditions of increasing discomfort,<sup>53</sup> continuing with the work of sorting and cataloguing and of identifying material for disposal. The massive clearance sales organised by Allsops had come to an end and a slower and more judicious programme was operated, mostly through Hodgsons. In 1944 a collection of naval manuscripts was sold by private treaty to the National Maritime Museum and in 1945 the main disposal programme was concluded with the sale of 40 000 printed books and 1250 manuscripts *en bloc* to Dawsons – a transaction which became something of a legend with the firm and over the years grew in the telling.<sup>54</sup>

*The Medieval Gallery,  
arranged by A W J Haggis  
c. 1946.*



#### FALSE DAWN

With the end of hostilities in sight it became possible to resume work on the arrangement of the Museum in the early summer of 1945, although it was to be many months before all the staff were released from the services. Plans were made for a temporary fitting-up of the Hall of Statuary for the Library, using the rough wooden shelving from Willesden. The main floor below the gallery was filled with massive book stacks and accommodation for readers was provided in



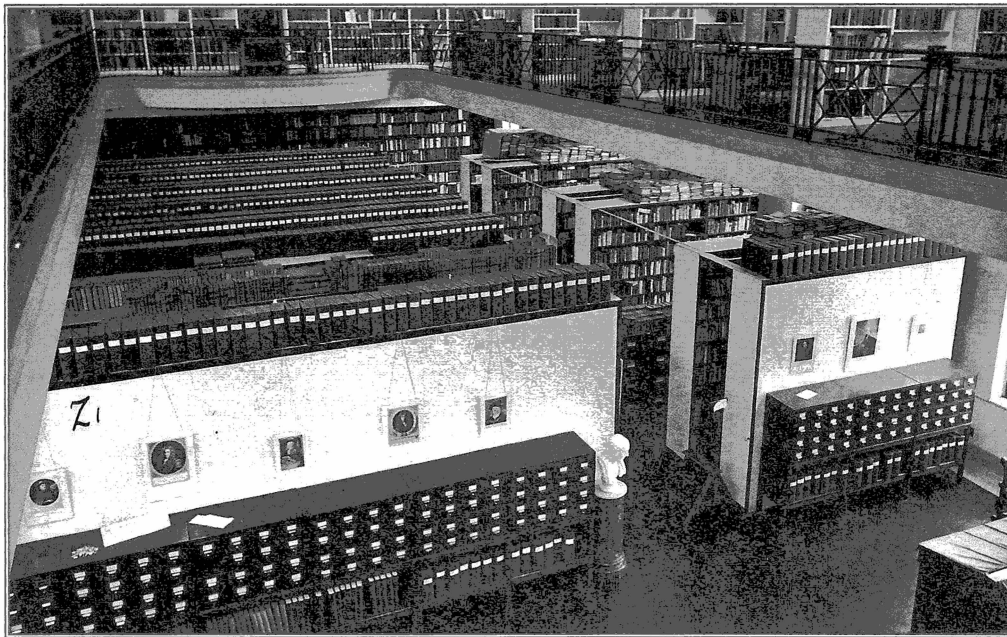
the gallery with a motley collection of furniture. The object was to get the Library into an operational state, if possible, by the beginning of 1946 and to furnish it properly at a later date when materials became more readily available with the easing of wartime restrictions. Moorat, who regarded these makeshift arrangements as unsatisfactory and felt that he was not sufficiently consulted, gave only grudging cooperation.<sup>55</sup>

Dr Daukes returned to his own Museum at the end of 1945 and Dr E Ashworth Underwood was chosen to succeed him as Director of the Historical Museum. His previous career had been in public health but he had long cultivated an interest in the history of medicine, encouraged by his future father-in-law, Charles Singer. Moorat took early retirement at the end of March 1946 (just short of his 54th birthday) to make way for the more dynamic and outgoing figure of W J Bishop, who had served with distinction at the Royal College of Physicians and Royal Society of Medicine.



*The Hall of Statuary  
as originally arranged  
in the 1930s.*

Bishop took up his duties in April 1946 and readers began to be admitted by arrangement;<sup>56</sup> in view of its makeshift state, the Library was not yet formally declared open. A new sub-professional grade of 'Library attendant' was instituted and the anomalous position of the two Sub-Librarians was resolved by the designation of Poynter as Deputy Librarian and Gardner as Chief Cataloguer. Moorat's services also were not to be lost to the Library: he was invited to devote his retirement to the compilation of a catalogue of the Library's Western manuscripts, a task which he had long been anxious to undertake. It proved more congenial than administration and was eventually to occupy him for longer than the period of his salaried service.



*The Hall of Statuary as adapted for the Library. This photograph, taken in 1960, shows the gallery refitted with metal shelving but the main floor still occupied by the temporary stacks installed in 1945.*

The Museum staff likewise pressed ahead with the arrangement of the new galleries. A weakness of Daukes's plan which now became apparent was that the first floor of the building, which he had assigned to the post-medieval period, was still occupied by the company, so that the Museum was left with an unbalanced and truncated display, which covered primitive man, the ancient world and non-Western cultures in great detail and stopped short at the Middle Ages. There was little that Underwood could do to remedy this.

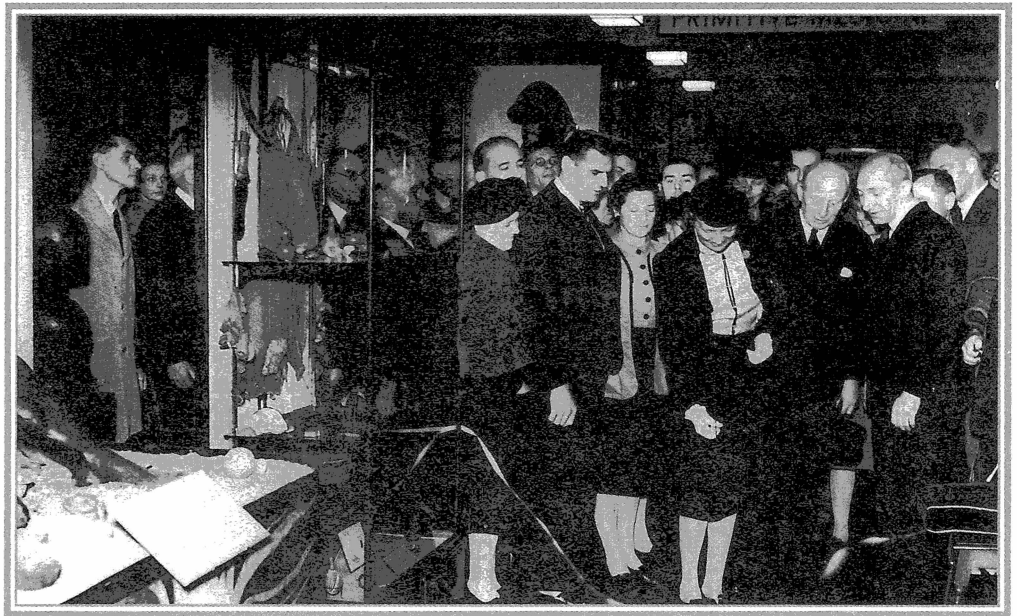
As a foretaste of the Museum's reopening, plans were made for a temporary exhibition in October 1946 to celebrate the centenary of the introduction of surgical anaesthesia. Haggis, who was to have arranged this exhibition, died suddenly in April and the task devolved upon Margaret Rowbottom, a member of staff since 1933. Sadly, Haggis's death left his thesis on medical licensing uncompleted; like his life of Wellcome it remains as unpublished source material.

The Willesden store was cleared during 1946 and its contents removed to a new store in Aldersgate Street. A large quantity of surplus ethnographic material had been removed in 1945 to the British Museum, where it was stored in the unfinished Duveen Gallery to await distribution to appropriate museums.

The anaesthesia exhibition was duly opened by Lord and Lady Moran on 16 October, at a ceremony held in conjunction with a meeting of the Section of Anaesthetics of the Royal Society of Medicine, but this was to be a false dawn, for the Board of the Wellcome Foundation was already exploring the possibility of evicting the Museum from the Wellcome Building.

The destruction in 1941 of the head offices at Snow Hill had not been seen at the time as a serious setback: it was an old building on a restricted site and was already regarded as obsolescent.<sup>57</sup> Temporary offices were leased in Red Lion Square and some staff were accommodated at Euston Road and at Willesden. Plans were made for the erection after the war of a new

*False dawn:  
Lady Moran cutting  
the tape for the  
anaesthesia exhibition,  
16 October 1946.  
To her left: Lord  
Moran and Dr  
Underwood (Times  
Newspapers Ltd).*



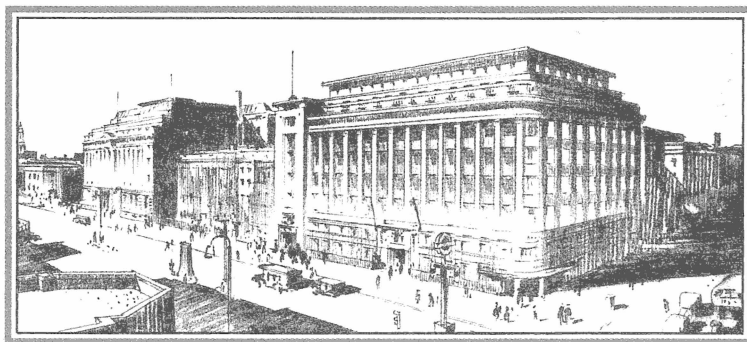
*Wellcome ethnographic  
material in the Duveen  
Gallery, British Museum,  
February 1955.  
About one twelfth of the  
total is shown.*



building at 209–225 Euston Road, to the west of the Wellcome Building but separated from it by the offices of the National Union of Railwaymen. In the autumn of 1946 it was realised that under post-war restrictions this was not a practicable possibility in the short term. Meanwhile the Red Lion Square lease was running out and, as no alternative premises could be found, it was decided that the only feasible solution was the temporary removal of the Historical Museum and the conversion of its galleries into offices. The newly opened Library was allowed to remain, as were the Museum of Medical Science on the ground floor and the Laboratories of Tropical Medicine on the upper floors. The anaesthesia exhibition continued until the end of the year but with little publicity, as it was discovered that the building did not meet the local authority's requirements for a public building. Even so the exhibition received over 2000 visitors.

The former Wellcome Research Institution now took on a new role as company headquarters, although it was not until 1955 that the old name gave way to 'The Wellcome Building'. Research retained a foothold in the Laboratories of Tropical Medicine until 1965, but the company's main effort in the UK was now concentrated at Beckenham. The medical historian J F Fulton, of Yale University, while accepting the eviction of the Museum as a necessary emergency measure, commented that 'Sir Henry Wellcome clearly did not erect his classic marble palace on Euston Road to be occupied by clerks and stenographers of his Company'.<sup>58</sup>

Instead of presiding over a grand rebirth for the Museum, Dr Underwood found that his directorship was to be a prolonged holding operation simply to keep the Museum in being. The company had initially proposed that, until space again became available at Euston Road, all the Museum's material should be placed in store with the possibility of limited access for research purposes. In this emergency the Trustees agreed to accept temporary financial responsibility for the Museum and to provide it with accommodation in central London. Underwood tried unsuc-



*Architect's perspective  
of the proposed  
Wellcome Building at  
209-225 Euston Road,  
1944.*

cessfully to persuade them to abandon the Wellcome Building entirely and to find alternative premises large enough for the Museum and Library to remain together. Instead in the summer of 1947 a seven-year lease was taken on 28 Portman Square, an elegant but neglected Georgian town house. Here there was space for staff offices and for limited displays; an office was provided for Sir Henry Dale, so that the building was also to serve in a sense as the headquarters of the Wellcome Trust.

During 1947, therefore, the work of dismantling the nearly completed Museum continued, most of the material being stored at the Wellcome Research Laboratories at Beckenham. At the same time 28 Portman Square was made ready for occupation. An attempt by Underwood to make Portman Square the headquarters of the Library as well as the Museum was quickly abandoned. In spite of the disruption the Museum was able to maintain a limited public profile; an exhibition on the history of surgery was mounted at the Science Museum, South Kensington, from September 1947 to February 1948, its opening coinciding with the 12th Congress of the International Society of Surgery. It was not until late in 1948 that it became possible to admit visitors to Portman Square and, in view of the limited space available, it was decided to concentrate

*28 Portman Square:  
Entrance Hall,  
November 1954.*



on temporary exhibitions on specific subjects rather than a general display. The surgery exhibition and a new exhibition on the history of the microscope were the first of these. Both were opened on 14 December 1948.

The restriction on the Museum's activities was inevitably accompanied by a substantial reduction of staff, as far as possible by 'natural wastage' rather than redundancy. Johnston-Saint supervised the dismantling of what he had come to regard as his life's work and retired in bitter disappointment at the end of 1947. Mr Port retired at the same time and in June 1948 Professor Neuburger departed to the USA. During his nine years with the Museum his presence had been a valuable influence on the work of his colleagues, and he himself had maintained a steady output of publications, all, as a matter of principle, written in English.

Meanwhile the financial state of the company was becoming increasingly precarious. Bennett's plans for revitalisation had been hampered by the difficulties of the war and by the restrictions of the immediate post-war period. A serious financial crisis developed and led to Bennett's enforced retirement in May 1948. The company survived major surgery and went on to make a remarkable recovery in the 1950s but for the time being there was little money available for the historical collections, although the company was able to resume financial responsibility for the Museum in September 1950. The eventual improvement in the company's position meant that the Trustees at last began to receive a significant income in dividends, but the historical collections could derive little benefit from this, since Wellcome's will had specified them as the responsibility of the company. The Trustees could intervene in an emergency, as they had done in 1946, and could assist with grants for special purposes, but it was felt that to do more than this would conflict with their charitable status.

*W J Bishop  
(1903–1961)  
Librarian  
1946–1953.*



Following the financial crisis, the plans for the refitting of the Library were indefinitely postponed. Steps were taken to make the temporary fittings more presentable and in December, 1949 the Library at last received its formal opening ceremony.

### THE LEAN YEARS

The positions of the Library and Museum were thus effectively reversed. It was now the Library which occupied a prominent position in the public eye, while the Museum was relegated to a backwater. Both were inadequately accommodated and funded but, whereas the Museum had been cut back from a position of strength, the situation of the Library was at least an improvement on what had gone before and there was the capacity for substantial progress. The excitement of at last operating a working library helped to compensate for its physical deficiencies. Under the circumstances it was not surprising that the prospect of the Museum and Library working as a single unit began to recede and they continued to a large extent to go their separate ways.

The Library rapidly began to establish a clientele and a role under the enthusiastic leadership of Bishop and Poynter. Moorat pressed on with his examination of the manuscript volumes and in 1950–52 Sir Thomas Austin, a retired Indian civil servant, was employed part-time to organise the large collection of over 100 000 autograph letters ('letters' and 'manuscripts' had always been treated as distinct



*F N L Poynter*  
(1908–1979)  
*Librarian 1954–1964,*  
*Director 1964–1973.*

collections). It was decided that the catalogue of the early printed books (up to 1850) should be published as a means of publicising the Library's holdings and preparatory work for this began in 1949. It was soon realised that the existing card catalogues required considerable revision and that there was a substantial backlog of uncatalogued material. The 1948 crisis had reduced the professional staff from four to Bishop and Poynter alone<sup>59</sup> and from 1951 additional cataloguers began to be recruited; these were at first seen as short-term appointments but in time they became the nucleus of a new professional team. While this work on the general catalogue proceeded, Poynter turned his attention to the incunabula, which constituted an accessible self-contained collection; his catalogue, which was published in 1954, contained descriptions of 610 complete items (including duplicates) and 22 fragments. This helped significantly to put the Library on the map.

The elimination of unwanted material continued intermittently. In 1946 books were sold to the British Museum Library to replace volumes destroyed in the war, and in 1946 and 1948 material was sold to Dawsons and other dealers. Finance was always a problem. Throughout the 1950s the book-buying budget was inadequate and the Library relied heavily on gifts. Bishop and

Poynter were active members of the newly formed Medical Section of the Library Association and in 1947 the Library became the headquarters of the Section's exchange scheme for the redistribution of surplus books and journals. This was also a valuable source for acquisitions.

Both Bishop and Poynter were active in research; their publications helped to foster the Library's scholarly reputation and their example was, in time, followed by their younger colleagues. Bishop, however, became disillusioned by the constant financial and physical difficulties and resigned at the end of 1953 to take up a new career as a freelance writer and researcher. Among other projects he became founder-editor of *Medical History*, established in 1957 as the first UK scholarly journal devoted to the subject.

Under Poynter, who now succeeded as Librarian, the Library's public profile continued to grow. Almost immediately after his appointment, work was started on *Current Work in the History of Medicine*, a quarterly bibliography of recent publications; the first issue appeared in July 1954 and was generally acclaimed. *Current Work* quickly established itself as a much-appreciated service and was for many years distributed free. In order to ensure coverage of medical journals, as well as the historical journals taken by the Library, arrangements were made for the staff to examine the journals received at the British Medical Association for the preparation of *Abstracts of World Medicine*. The existence of *Current Work* stimulated the gift of authors' offprints to the Library. Work on the printed catalogue proceeded. The first volume was to cover books printed before 1641; by mid-1953 all the books within this period had been located and catalogued and printing began in 1954. In the same year, Professor V Raghavan of the University of Madras examined the Sanskrit manuscripts and compiled a preliminary handlist. Poynter himself obtained a London University PhD in 1955 for a bibliography of Gervase Markham.

The elimination of non-medical material continued: a large collection of Medici family papers was presented to the British Museum in 1955 and in 1956 a collection relating to the Order of St John was presented to the Maltese National Archives.

The Library was still making do with the makeshift fittings and furniture installed as a temporary measure in 1945. In the autumn of 1955 adjustable metal shelving was at last installed in the gallery, although the unsightly stacks continued to fill the main floor. Purpose-designed furniture was also purchased and the Library began to take on a more up-to-date appearance.

While the Library was developing its services the Museum was forced to mark time awaiting the return of favourable conditions. Successful topical exhibitions were mounted and Underwood and his staff pursued their research interests, but there was no possibility of a comprehensive display of the artefacts and only limited opportunity for cataloguing. Storage conditions for the reserve material were never satisfactory.

The limitations on actual museum work encouraged the staff to pursue their own scholarly interests and to develop into an embryonic academic unit. Dr Underwood maintained a steady



output of books and articles on a variety of topics. He had a foothold in the academic world as an honorary lecturer in the Department of the History and Philosophy of Science at University College London, with responsibility for teaching the history of the biological sciences, and was an active member of the British Society for the History of Science, which he served as President from 1957 to 1962. In 1946 he had inherited a professional staff of 11 in the Museum, but by 1948 this had been reduced to five (including the Secretary), and this was never exceeded.

Miss Burstein, until her retirement in 1957, was able to make progress with the cataloguing of the ethnographic material and in 1952 she was responsible for a successful exhibition on *The Medicine of the Aboriginal Peoples in the British Commonwealth*. She also pursued her own interest in the study of old age and served as President of the Folklore Society in 1956–59. Her work with the ethnographic collections was continued from 1958 to 1963 by Dr K P Wachsmann, formerly Curator of the Uganda Museum, Kampala, and subsequently Professor of Ethnomusicology at the University of California, Los Angeles, and at Northwestern University.

Mr Lacaille continued to work on the prehistoric collections and travelled widely on field work. He was responsible for the exhibition *Prehistoric Man in Health and Sickness* in 1951 and his monumental *The Stone Age in Scotland* was published by the Museum in 1954. After his retirement in 1959 his place as the Museum's archaeologist was taken by an Egyptologist, Dr D M Dixon.

The prints constituted a more easily accessible collection than most, and C A Earnshaw, Pender Davidson's successor, was able to make good progress with the identification and sorting of the engraved portraits.

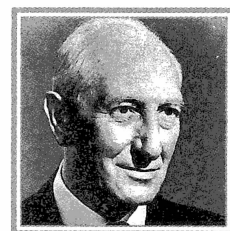
Mr Dean continued as Secretary until his retirement in November 1954. After his retirement the Museum was for a decade without an administrator. He returned part-time from 1956 to 1959 to sort and index the Museum's early archives to 1921.

Dr C H Talbot, who joined the staff in September 1954, was a medievalist and more concerned with literary sources than museum objects. His major work was the compilation of a biographical dictionary of medieval English physicians.

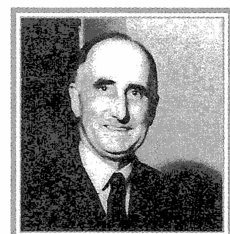
Miss Rowbottom inherited Haggis's role as Underwood's principal assistant and was generally responsible for all exhibitions which did not fall within the scope of one of her specialist colleagues. She obtained a London University PhD in 1955 for research on Robert Boyle and later made medical electricity her main field of research. After Earnshaw's departure in 1957 the print room was added to her responsibilities.

A new series of monograph publications was instituted in 1946 in succession to the pre-war *Research Studies*. The editorial work occupied much of Dr Underwood's time, and sometimes also that of other members of the staff, although the authors were mainly outsiders.<sup>60</sup> Scholarly

*E A Underwood*  
(1899–1980)  
*Director 1946–1964.*



*A L Dean*  
(1890–1962)  
*Secretary 1928–1954.*



catalogues were published for several of the exhibitions and in general the Museum, through the work of its staff, achieved a solid academic standing.

The dispersal of the ethnographic objects sent to the British Museum in 1945 continued throughout the 1950s, but no new disposal programmes were initiated. The Museum occupied a succession of inadequate stores at Aldersgate Street (1946 to 1950), at the Wellcome Laboratories at Beckenham (1947 to 1957) and at Boleyn Road, Dalston (1949 to 1957); it was not until 1957 that it became possible to concentrate all the reserve collections at the company's Dartford Works. A store for the Library was added in 1958. These stores were divided among a scattered assortment of buildings, mostly old and dilapidated, but this was still an improvement on the previous situation.

Towards the end of 1954 the Museum was able to return to the Wellcome Building, but to much reduced space. Only half a floor (two galleries) was available, in contrast to the three whole floors allocated in 1932, and less than half of this could be used for display. The policy of temporary topical exhibitions was therefore continued. The large entrance hall on the upper ground floor was used as an extra exhibition area from time to time and in 1959 five historic pharmacies were permanently erected there, providing a striking introduction to the Building and recalling Johnston-Saint's street of pharmacies.

During their enforced separation the Museum and Library had developed their own roles and the return to proximity brought little change. Their visible public areas and their professional staffs were of similar size.<sup>61</sup> The Library had the advantage of a spacious galleried hall (albeit overcrowded and shabbily furnished), whereas the Museum's large reserve collections were out of sight and thus out of mind. Although the Library was administratively subordinate to the Museum, this seemed difficult to justify in a situation where, to outward appearance, the Museum seemed more like the Library's poor relation. In practice they tended to operate for most purposes as separate units.

#### IMPROVED RESOURCES

The financial difficulties were at last resolved in 1960 when ownership of the historical collections was transferred from the company to the Trustees, who assumed full financial responsibility, although much of the administration was still carried out by the company as agents for the Trustees. The Museum and Library were thus firmly linked with the academic and charitable aims of the Wellcome Trust. The enhanced role of the Library was recognised and Poynter (who now took Hewitt and Moorat's old title of Chief Librarian) ceased to be subordinate to Underwood.

The Library was the first to benefit from the improved financial climate. During 1962 it was completely transformed. New air-conditioned book stores in the basement made it possible to remove the unsightly stacks from the main floor of the reading room and to redesign the whole room for readers'



*The Entrance Hall,  
with reconstructions of  
historic pharmacies,  
1986.*

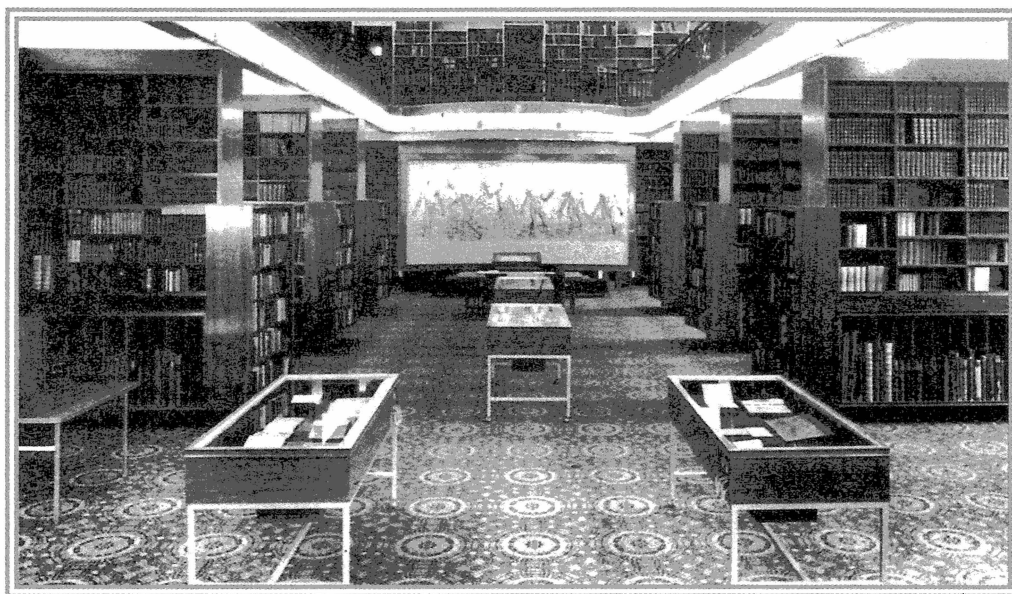
accommodation. At the south end, Warwick's monumental staircase was freed from the makeshift offices erected in 1945, and new offices were provided at the north end behind a screen decorated with a montage of the Vesalian muscle men. An additional area added on the third floor contained attractive rooms to house the Library's American and Oriental Collections, designed, under Poynter's direction, by Anthony Radcliffe. The Library was formally reopened by Lord Brain, the eminent neurologist and former President of the Royal College of Physicians, on 15 September 1962.

The creation of a special American Collection resulted from the acquisition in 1962 of Dr Francisco Guerra's collection of books and manuscripts relating to medicine in Latin America, particularly Mexico. This became the nucleus of the new collection. The Library's existing holdings of medical Americana included a collection acquired from the Mexican medical historian and bibliographer Dr Nicolás León in 1927. The bias of the new collection was towards Latin America, but for the next ten years systematic efforts were made to raise the Library's North American holdings to a comparable standard. Dr Guerra was awarded a research fellowship to begin the cataloguing of the collection.

The year 1962 also saw the publication of the first volumes both of the general catalogue of printed books (to 1640) and of Moorat's catalogue of Western manuscripts (to 1650). A research fellowship to compile a catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts was awarded to Dr A Z Iskandar.

Improvements for the Museum began to be considered soon afterwards but could not be put into effect until additional space had been created by the removal of the Wellcome Laboratories of Tropical Medicine to Beckenham and of some commercial departments to Dartford. In the meantime the Museum's 'poor relation' image was intensified.<sup>62</sup> Underwood retired in March 1964 and Poynter succeeded him as Director.

Poynter's promotion brought a general restructuring for the historical collections. The Museum and Library were reunited, with equal status (as had been adumbrated in Dr Daukes's time). Poynter's deputy, Eric Gaskell, became Librarian<sup>63</sup> and the former scientific staff of the Museum formed an academic unit under the Director. New appointments were made: Dr Edwin Clarke was appointed Medical Historian and Mr J W Barber-Lomax Administrative Officer and Veterinary Historian. Dr Clarke, originally a neurologist, had served as Assistant Scientific Secretary to the Wellcome Trust in 1958–60 and had then spent three years as a visiting scholar in the history of medicine at Johns Hopkins and Yale. Mr Barber-Lomax, a veterinary surgeon by training, was transferred from the Veterinary Division of the Wellcome Foundation. He became in effect Dr Poynter's deputy and was later designated Assistant Director. Dr Rowbottom, Dr Talbot and Dr Dixon carried on with their existing duties and research interests and Mr Lacaille had returned as a research fellow in 1963 to continue his work with the prehistoric collections. An unexpected recruit to the staff was Dr Renate Burgess, a graduate in art history from Munich, who had left Germany for England in 1938. She came in answer to an advertisement for a typist, but it was realised that she could more usefully be employed in charge of the paintings and prints; in particular she took up the cataloguing of the engraved portraits where Earnshaw had left it.



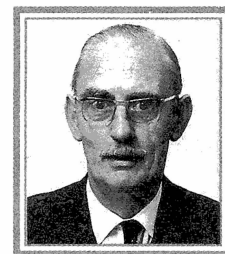
*The Reading Room  
after reconstruction in  
1962, facing north,  
towards the Vesalian  
Screen.*

On his appointment in 1946 Dr Underwood had inherited a large museum which, in spite of considerable rationalisation, still retained much of Wellcome's concept of a museum of the human race with a substantial archaeological and ethnographic element. Throughout the retrenchments of the next 18 years he had insisted on maintaining the integrity of the collection as he had received it, although with the passing years the likelihood of adequate display and stor-

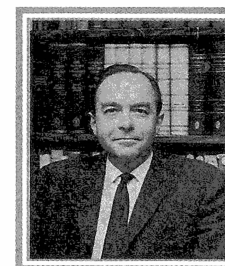
age facilities became increasingly remote. Poynter proposed a radical solution, arguing that much of the material was of only tangential relevance to the history of medicine and could with advantage be diverted to other museums. Accordingly, with the approval of the Trustees, prehistoric material was largely transferred to the British Museum, Egyptian material to the Petrie Museum at University College London (with unwanted objects to be distributed to other museums) and ethnographic material to the University of California, Los Angeles. Mr Lacaille and Dr Dixon accompanied their respective collections to their new homes.

Temporary exhibitions continued to be held in the Museum. An exhibition on Chinese Medicine in 1966 was successful enough to be sent on tour to the USA. The publication programme was expanded and the Library now became a publisher in its own right without the agency of a commercial firm.<sup>64</sup> In 1966 it acquired its own scholarly journal, taking over from Dawsons the publication of *Medical History*, which had been edited by Poynter since Bishop's death in 1961. *Medical History* also became the official organ of the newly founded British Society for the History of Medicine.

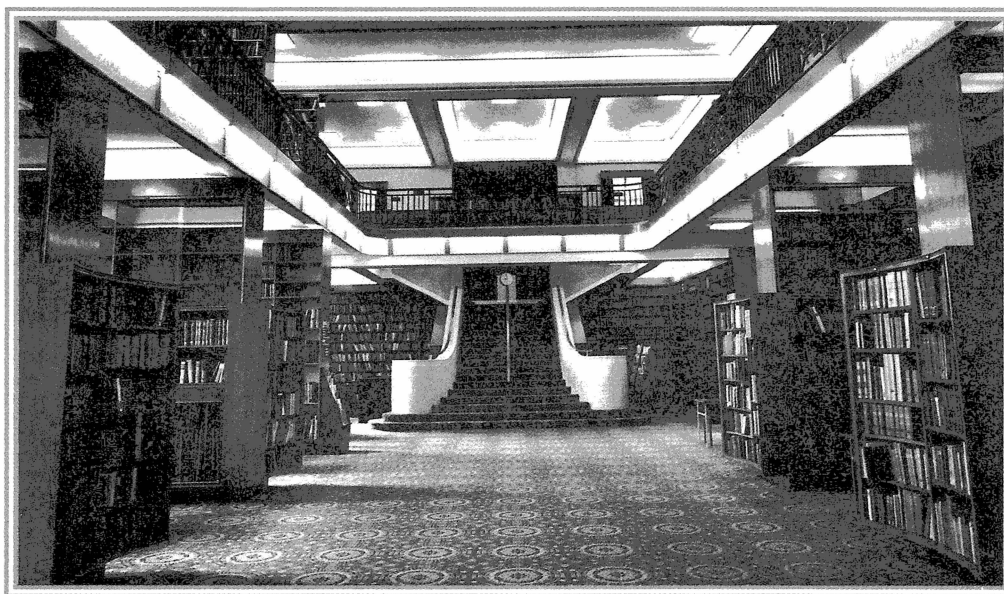
Two further volumes of the Library catalogues appeared: the second volume of the general catalogue of printed books (1641–1850, A–E) in 1966 and Dr Iskandar's *Catalogue of Arabic manuscripts in medicine and science* in 1967. A major accession to the Library at this time was a large



*J W Barber-Lomax, Assistant Director 1964–1969.*



*E Clarke, Medical Historian 1963–1966, Director 1973–1979.*



*The Reading Room, facing south towards the staircase, 1986.*

part of the Library of the Medical Society of London, deposited for an initial period of 20 years. The Society, founded in 1773, had in its early years amassed an outstanding library of great historic interest and including many rarities, but which had long ceased to be relevant to the interests of the Society's membership. This deposit was the Library's most important acquisition since Wellcome's death, containing some 200 manuscripts from the twelfth to the nineteenth centuries and about

11 000 printed books from the fifteenth century onwards. In 1984 the collection was purchased outright by the Wellcome Trust with assistance from the National Heritage Memorial Fund.

The academic status of the Museum and Library had always been anomalous, as long as they were seen as dependencies of a pharmaceutical company, and the staff had long found it expedient to maintain links with established academic bodies. Cooperation with the Royal Society of Medicine went back to Thompson's time. Malcolm had held a lectureship at the London School of Hygiene and Underwood had identified himself with the Department of the History and Philosophy of Science at University College. Poynter made his academic base with the Society of Apothecaries, where a Faculty of the History of Medicine had been established in 1958 through the enthusiasm of Dr W S C Copeman. The Faculty instituted a series of annual eponymous lectures on historical topics and from 1960 organised a successful series of British Congresses on the History of Medicine. Poynter was the Faculty's first Secretary and edited the proceedings of the conferences for publication.

The Trustees, however, as they turned their attention to the history of medicine, favoured the development of the subject within the university system. It had long been established as a university subject in continental Europe and the USA but had had only a token existence in British universities.<sup>65</sup> Accordingly in 1966 they established a Sub-Department of the History of Medicine, headed by Dr Clarke, within the Department of Anatomy at University College London. This was to be funded by the Trust for its first five years, then becoming the responsibility of the College. The new department was regarded as an independent venture and no attempt was made to integrate the Museum and Library in its activities, although an honorary appointment was provided for Dr Talbot. Nor was any link with the History of Science Department envisaged, in spite of Underwood's long and continuing involvement there. Accommodation in the College could not be made ready until 1968, and the new department remained in the Wellcome Building for its first two years, but on a separate floor from the Museum and Library.

As more space in the Wellcome Building became available the Library and Museum were able to consolidate their position and improve their facilities. On the second floor they already occupied three of the four galleries and in 1966 the company at last released the north gallery also; in the following year the area was remodelled to provide an entrance foyer, a seminar room,<sup>66</sup> seven readers' carrels and other offices. This gave the historical collections a much enhanced presence, occupying the whole second floor and part of the third, with accommodation for long-term visiting scholars and facilities for meetings. This sense of identity was further strengthened in 1968 by the adoption of the title Wellcome Institute of (later for) the History of Medicine<sup>67</sup> in place of the cumbersome Wellcome Historical Medical Museum and Library.

New blood continued to be gradually infused into the academic team. J K Crellin, a pharmacist, joined in 1966 and Dr Ruth Hodgkinson, a social historian, in 1968 following

Dr Rowbottom's retirement. As Dr Clarke's departure had left the Institute without a medically qualified member of staff, Dr K D Keele, a practising physician and established historian, was appointed to a consultancy.

In 1968 the long-awaited expansion of the Museum at last began. The whole first floor was gradually cleared of offices to be restored to its original form as four open galleries. Space was also provided for curatorial offices, conservation workshops and a large lecture room. The south gallery was the first to be opened in its refurbished state with an exhibition on *Medicine and Surgery in the Great War*, in November 1968, and the other galleries followed over the next two years. A professional Curator, C A Sizer, was appointed from the Liverpool Museum at the beginning of 1969 and over the next three years he worked on the creation of a comprehensive display, basically on chronological lines, to fill the north, east and south galleries. The west gallery was held in reserve for temporary exhibitions. The new display was completed in 1972 and provided the first satisfactory general view of the Museum since its removal from Wigmore Street 40 years before. During the period of preparation temporary topical exhibitions continued to be held.<sup>68</sup> Concurrently with this display work, an intensified programme of cataloguing was initiated for the museum collections, largely under Dr Crellin's direction.<sup>69</sup>

An unwanted complication was provided in the summer of 1972 when changes at the Dartford Works made it necessary to transfer the Museum and Library stores to an industrial estate at Enfield. The change from company premises to an isolated site in a remote suburb was less than ideal, but it was some compensation to have all the material under a single roof.

On the academic side, the work of outreach continued. The Society for the Social History of Medicine, founded in 1970, was initially based at the Institute. Dr Hodgkinson and Dr Poynter were both on the organising committee and Gordon Wilson, Secretary to the Institute since Barber-Lomax's retirement in 1969, acted as the first Secretary and Treasurer. Dr Hodgkinson became President in 1971. The connection with the Apothecaries was maintained: in 1970, on Dr Copeman's death, Dr Poynter succeeded to the chair of the Faculty of the History of Medicine and Dr Crellin became Secretary. A diploma in the history of medicine was instituted and the teaching was carried out at the Institute on Saturdays, with participation by the academic and Library staffs. Meanwhile the Trustees, following the successful launch of the University College Sub-Department, had established University Units of the History of Medicine at Cambridge (in October 1971) and Oxford (in July 1972).

The climax of Poynter's directorship came in September 1972, when the 23rd International Congress of the History of Medicine was held in London under his presidency. The newly completed Museum was a much admired feature and it was fitting that this conference came exactly 50 years after the 3rd Congress, the last to be held in London, in which the Wellcome Museum had played a prominent part.



*CA Sizer, Curator  
1969–1977.*



The momentum continued into 1973, with the publication both of the second part of Moorat's catalogue (manuscripts after 1650, in two volumes) and of Dr Burgess's catalogue of engraved portraits. Dr Poynter was due to retire in September and, as this date approached, it became apparent that, as in 1946, the Museum's progress was to be arrested, although this time it was to be a case of *reculer pour mieux sauter*.

#### AN ACADEMIC INSTITUTE

The Institute's development under Dr Poynter's directorship had been viewed by the Trustees with growing apprehension. The Institute had established itself as a centre of scholarly research and had at the same time been working hard to stimulate an interest in medical history among the medical profession and the general public. Scholarly research had been based primarily on the Library. The teaching for the Apothecaries' diploma had attracted practising doctors to the Institute, both as teachers and students, and the revitalisation of the Museum opened up a prospect of future development in various directions. The active publishing programme was performing a useful service but at a considerable cost. It was feared that the maintenance of the Institute's current level of activity might compromise the Trustees' primary responsibility for the funding of medical research and this view was confirmed by the Trust's Advisory Panel on the History of Medicine. The Panel recommended that the Institute should concentrate on the Library and research aspects and that the future of the Museum would be best served by transfer to a national museum. The substantial progress achieved with the Museum by Dr Poynter and Mr Sizer had served to highlight the scale of the work still needed to remedy the effects of 20 years of underfunding in such areas as conservation, cataloguing, publicity and display.

Early in 1973, therefore, it was announced that negotiations had begun for the transfer of the Museum to the Science Museum, leaving the Institute to be developed as a centre for research at postgraduate level, based on the Library and associated with the University of London. The implications of this decision were complex and several years of negotiation lay ahead before the new proposals could be implemented. Dr Poynter retired at the end of September and was succeeded as Director by Dr Clarke, with Dr W F Bynum becoming head of the Sub-Department at University College. At the end of November Mr Gaskell also left to become Chief Librarian to the European Commission in Brussels; his deputy Eric Freeman succeeded him as Librarian. Earlier in the year, the Library had witnessed a further break with the past as Mr Moorat took his second and final retirement at the age of 81, 50 years after his first introduction to the Library.

Dr Clarke's directorship was perforce largely a fallow period during which the Institute marked time while awaiting official clearance for its change of direction. Certain preliminary steps could be taken in advance. The Museum began to contract: one gallery was reclaimed by the Wellcome Foundation for offices and another became a book store; the paintings, prints,

drawings and photographs (later to be called the Iconographic Collections) were transferred to the Library, leaving sculptures, medals and other three-dimensional iconographic material with the Museum. The publishing programme was wound up, retaining only *Medical History*, *Current Work* and the catalogue series (the third volume of the Catalogue of Printed Books appeared early in 1977). *Current Work* ceased to be distributed free and was placed on a subscription basis.

The connection with the Society of Apothecaries died a natural death: outbreaks of terrorist activity in London in the early 1970s made it impracticable, for security reasons, for the Institute to be used for teaching on Saturdays. The diploma course has continued to flourish elsewhere. Dr Poynter's academic team melted away: Dr Talbot, who had reached retiring age in 1971, remained as a research fellow, but Dr Hodgkinson departed to a chair in Canada in 1974 and Dr Crellin to the USA in 1976. The Institute's academic life was, however, carried on by a core of younger scholars attached as research fellows, working in cooperation with Dr Bynum's department.



*Eric Gaskell (left) making the farewell presentation to S A J Moorat and Jeanne Procou (Director's Secretary), July 1973.*

The period of uncertainty came to an end in 1976, when a ruling of the Court of Appeal cleared the way for the Museum transfer. At the same time a scheme of association between the Institute and University College regularised the Institute's teaching and research activities.

Under the new scheme, the academic staff of the Institute became honorary lecturers at University College, forming a joint Academic Unit with Dr Bynum and his staff. This provided a more formal basis for the attachment of graduate students to the Institute, and a one-year undergraduate course in the history of medicine for pre-clinical medical students was instituted as part of the College's intercalated BSc programme. A new team of scholars began to be recruited and an active academic programme of lectures, seminars and symposia was gradually developed, although this could not be fully implemented until space had been released through the departure of the Museum.

The Museum transfer could not be accomplished at the stroke of a pen. The first step was the creation of a new department in the Science Museum to be called the Wellcome Museum of the History of Medicine. The artefacts were to be deposited as an indefinite loan, with the Trustees retaining legal ownership and funding the costs of the transfer over a five-year period. Thereafter the Museum would become the responsibility of the Science Museum. The Keeper of the new department, Dr Brian Bracegirdle, took up his duties at the beginning of 1977 and Mr Sizer left in June to become Director of the Reading Museum and Art Gallery.

The transfer period lasted until 1982. For the first time in the Museum's history every object was examined and recatalogued. Estimates of the size of the collection had varied between 100 000 and a million objects; the correct figure was found to be about 165 000,<sup>70</sup> ranging from charms and amulets to statues, marble baths and mort-safes. The cataloguing work occupied a team of over 20, while a second team of similar size was engaged on the planning of the new display. In spite of the successive campaigns of weeding, there was still a great deal of non-medical material, mostly ethnographic and archaeological. A third team therefore organised the allocation of this to other appropriate repositories. Some scientific apparatus went to other departments of the Science Museum.<sup>71</sup>

Throughout the transfer period a vestigial display was retained at the Institute, but temporary exhibitions began to be held at the Science Museum. The first of the two permanent galleries there was opened by Princess Alexandra in December 1980 (coinciding with the centenary celebrations of the Wellcome Foundation Ltd) and the second a year later. These displays, which already incorporated much newly acquired material, were generally acclaimed and, without disparaging the work done under Dr Underwood's and Dr Poynter's directorships, it is fair to say that Sir Henry Wellcome's vision was at last properly realised. His collections were accessible to a wider audience than had ever previously been possible and, a quarter of a century after the eviction of the Museum from the Wellcome Building, it could be said that the phoenix had risen from the ashes.

The events of the past decade are too recent to be seen in proper perspective and only a few points can be mentioned here. For a fuller account the Institute's published annual reports from 1982–83 onwards can be consulted.

The departure of the Museum released space and funds for the development of the Library and Academic Unit. Steps were taken to increase the exploitation of the Oriental Collections and a comprehensive cataloguing programme was initiated, involving specialists in many languages and cultures. The collection comprises some 11 000 manuscripts and 3000 printed books in 43 languages utilising a wide variety of materials. A new initiative was the establishment in 1979 of a Contemporary Medical Archives Centre to collect and record the papers of twentieth-century British medical practitioners, scientists and institutions. In 1983 the appointment of a Curator of

Western Manuscripts made possible a parallel coordinated approach to pre-twentieth-century manuscript material. Steps have also been taken to improve the utilisation of post-1850 printed primary source material and to introduce modern automated systems to the Library's operations.

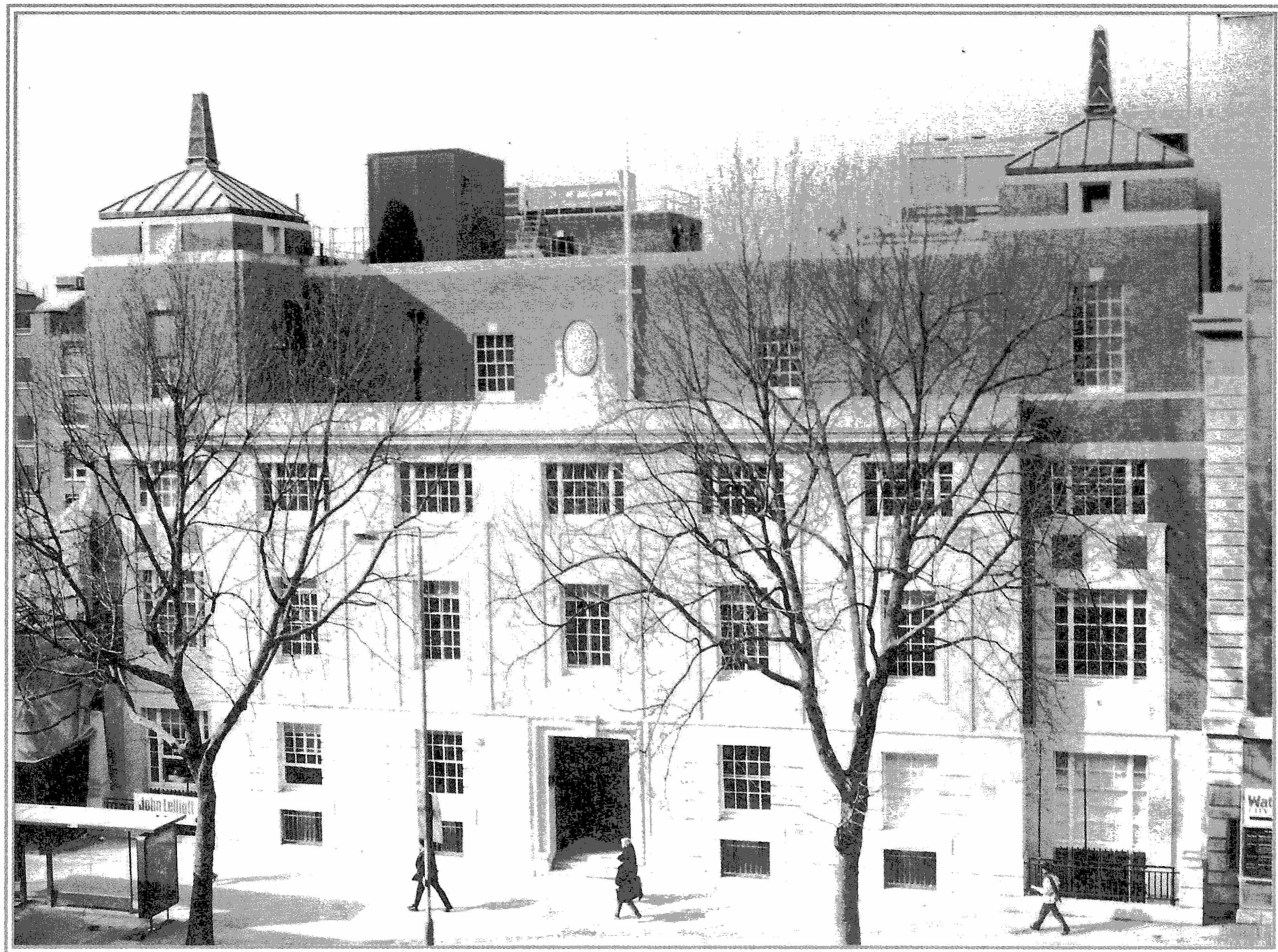
Dr Clarke retired from the directorship at the end of 1979 so that the new initiatives for the Institute largely came to fruition under the aegis of Dr P O Williams, Director of the Wellcome Trust, who assumed the directorship of the Institute in 1981 with Mr Freeman as his Deputy.<sup>72</sup> His term of office saw the final administrative integration of the staffs of the Trust and the Institute at the beginning of 1982.<sup>73</sup> The academic programme benefited from the new regime and was able to develop to its full potential, attracting a large and enthusiastic clientele both of postgraduate students and of visitors from outside. A successful programme of exhibitions was instituted, based on the resources of the Library and Iconographic Collections but reinforced where appropriate by artefacts from the Science Museum and elsewhere. General cooperation with the Science Museum was maintained; the historic pharmacies were allowed to remain in the entrance hall for the time being and statues and other objects continued to embellish the Institute's public areas.

Accommodation continued to be a problem. The company's occupancy of the Wellcome Building had never been entirely satisfactory: the building had not been designed for offices and the presence of the historical collections had always placed a constraint on space. There was a constant history of piecemeal adaptations, temporary rented overflow accommodation, and transfer of departments to other company sites. The possibility that the company might wish to abandon the Wellcome Building altogether seemed by the 1980s increasingly likely to materialise, leaving the Institute's future uncertain. In 1981, therefore, the Trustees took the initiative and purchased Bentley House, 200 Euston Road, the former office and warehouse of the Cambridge University Press, with the intention of re-housing the Institute there. This plan was abandoned in the autumn of 1983, and in the event it was the company which decided to move. For the time being both company and Institute remained *in situ* and Bentley House became a book store and the headquarters of the Wellcome Tropical Institute, successor to the Wellcome Museum of Medical Science, which had passed from the company to the Trustees. Dr Williams relinquished the directorship of the Institute in September 1983 and was succeeded as Honorary Director by Sir William Paton, Professor of Pharmacology at Oxford and a Wellcome Trustee.

1986 was a momentous year. February saw the public flotation<sup>74</sup> of the Wellcome Foundation Ltd and also the transfer of the ownership of the Wellcome Building from the company to the Trust. The flotation dramatically transformed the financial situation of both the company and the Trust, the framework bequeathed by Sir Henry Wellcome having become something of a straitjacket. Then, beginning in July, the Wellcome Trust celebrated its jubilee with a programme of events lasting over the next 12 months. The Institute contributed a major



*P O Williams, Director  
of the Wellcome Trust  
1965–1991 and of the  
Wellcome Institute  
1981–1983.*



*Top: Bentley House,  
200 Euston Road.*

*Above: Sir William  
Paton, Honorary  
Director 1983–1987.*

*Opposite page:  
The temporary reading  
room in Bentley House.*

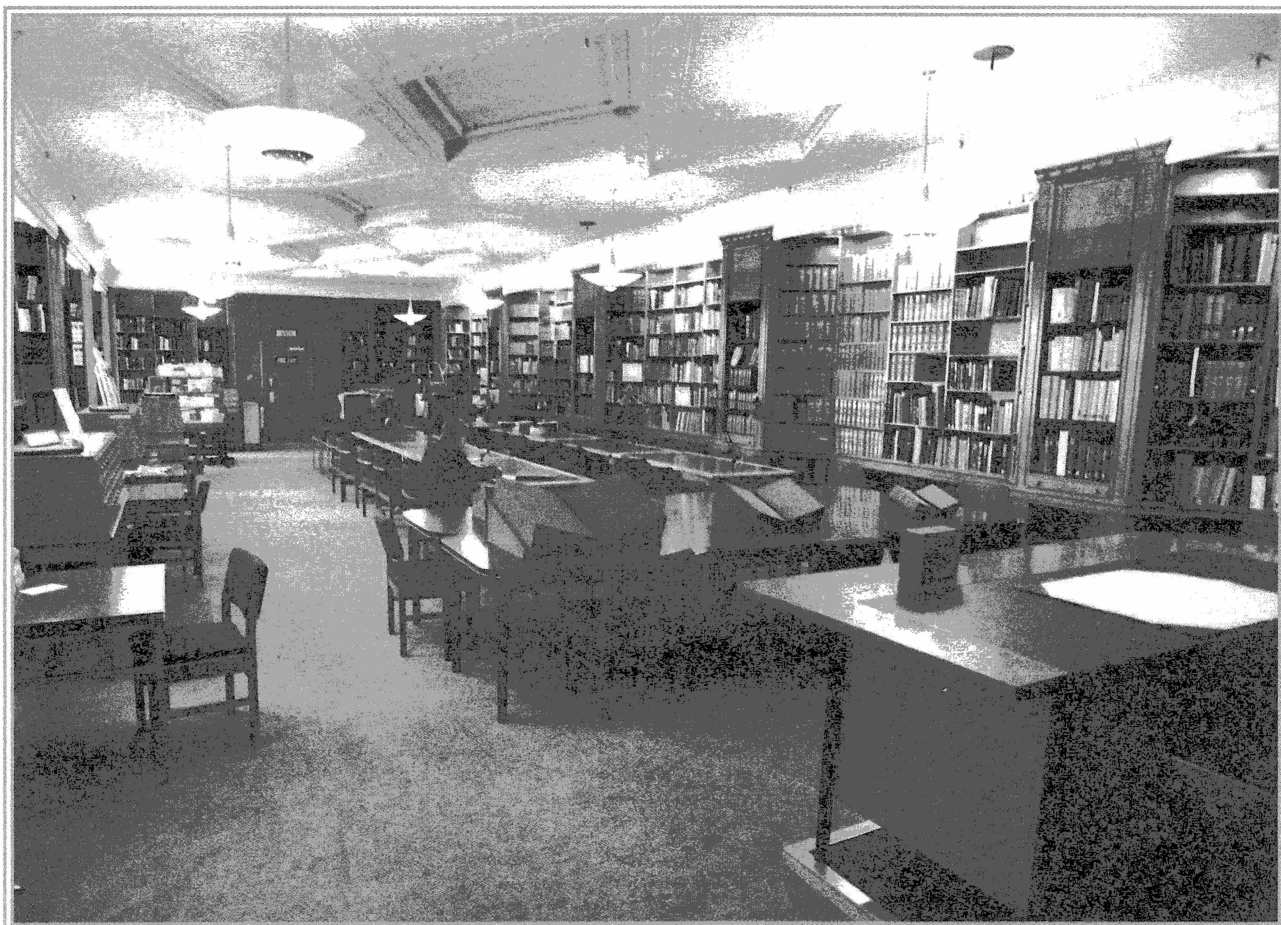
exhibition entitled *A Vision of History*, displaying aspects of its work and the riches of its collections. The high point of the year was a soirée held at the Wellcome Building on 4 December, attended by the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh, with special exhibits to show the varied research supported by the Trust. On 18 February 1987 a commemorative plaque for Sir Henry Wellcome was dedicated in St Paul's Cathedral and his ashes were buried in the churchyard. Mounteney Wellcome had died just nine days earlier at the age of 83.

At the end of 1989 the company at last left the Wellcome Building for new premises at 160 Euston Road and the Building was vacated for a much-needed refurbishment in order to house the offices of the Wellcome Trust and improved facilities for the Institute.

For two and a half years, therefore, the Institute was fragmented. The Academic Unit was in the British Medical Association's building in Tavistock Square, while the Library was in Bentley House, where the handsome panelled showroom designed for the Cambridge University Press served as a temporary reading room. Research fellows were accommodated in the Rockefeller Building, University College Hospital Medical School. Under these difficult conditions the Institute's functions were carried on as normally as possible. Its administrative integration with

the Wellcome Trust continued. Following the retirement of Sir William Paton in September 1987 the directorship was left in abeyance and in the following year Mr Freeman, while remaining Librarian, became a Director of the Wellcome Trust with responsibility for the history of medicine. He now has general oversight of the Trust's grants programme in the subject, as well as the running of the Institute.

At the time of writing, in October 1992, the return to the Wellcome Building is under way. In its new guise as the headquarters of the Wellcome Trust, the Building will provide a central forum for medical research policy, returning to a role consistent with Sir Henry Wellcome's intention. There will be a permanent exhibition on modern medical science. The historical Institute and its Library have spacious accommodation, with modernised storage for the collections in Bentley House, now linked to the Wellcome Building by a tunnel. A new academic initiative is a research group for the history of twentieth-century medicine. The Academic Unit continues with its programme of teaching and research; its high standing has been recognised in the University by the award of a personal chair to Dr Bynum. The return of the Institute to a single site and the prospect of closer liaison with the Wellcome Trust seems an appropriate point at which to close.



## NOTES

1. Power's laboratory was at first known as the Wellcome Research Laboratories and did not add 'Chemical' to its title until May 1898. See E M Tansey and R C E Milligan, 'The early history of the Wellcome Research Laboratories, 1894-1914', in J Liebenau, *et al.*, *Pill peddlers: essays on the history of the pharmaceutical industry*, Madison, WI, American Institute for the History of Pharmacy, 1990, pp. 91-106.
2. The foundation of the Wellcome Physiological Research Laboratories was always backdated to 1894, leading to the persistent myth that Wellcome set up his first research unit on his own initiative and under his own name while Burroughs was still alive (Haggis p. 304, Macdonald p. 9, Turner p. 17). Power's laboratory was the first to carry Wellcome's name and to be created specifically for research. The title Wellcome Physiological Research Laboratories was not officially adopted until May 1899. (See E M Tansey, 'The Wellcome Physiological Research Laboratories 1894-1904', *Medical History*, 1989, 33: 1-41, also E M Tansey and R C E Milligan, *op. cit.* note 1.)
3. The books retained by Bennett were later acquired by the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. See P Needham (ed.), *William Morris and the art of the book*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 1976.
4. This is abundantly clear from the notes made by Thompson and Wellcome in their copies of the sale catalogue.
5. See M L Ettinghausen, *Rare books and royal collectors*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1966, pp. 64-67.
6. Burroughs Wellcome & Co. Circular to representatives, 30 December 1903.
7. H S Wellcome. Circular, *Historical exhibition of rare and curious objects relating to medicine, chemistry, pharmacy and the allied sciences*, [1904?]
8. Wellcome, 'Evidence', para 4575 (see note 41).
9. Haggis pp. 576-577.
10. See Skinner (1986) for an analysis of Wellcome's view of medicine as essentially a branch of anthropology and its influence on his collecting policy and plans for the Museum.
11. See Richard B Fisher, *Syrie Maugham*, London, Duckworth, 1978; Gerald McKnight, *The scandal of Syrie Maugham*, London, W H Allen, 1980.
12. See *The Wellcome excavations in the Sudan*. Vols I-II by F Addison, Vol. III by O G S Crawford and F Addison, 3 vols, London, Oxford University Press for the Wellcome Trustees, 1949-51; R Mukherjee C R Rao and J C Trevor, *The ancient inhabitants of Jebel Moya, Sudan*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1955; O G S Crawford, *Said and done, the autobiography of an archaeologist*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1955.
13. Memorandum, C J S Thompson to E F Linstead, Snow Hill, 17 July 1912.
14. 'I quite agree that Miss Hall [of the showroom staff] *did* spend more time in the Museum than was right, but her doing so must not be attributed to me. I fully understand that the Exhibition Room and the Museum have no relation whatever to each other.' (Miss M H Coles, Museum typist, to C J S Thompson, 8 November 1919.)
15. American usage would account for this use of 'first floor'; a more plausible explanation may be that, prior to the Museum's opening, the normal entrance seems to have been not from the street but from Easley's Mews at the rear, at basement level. This was also the route to the Welbeck Palace Hotel, used for functions connected with the Museum.
16. Report, C J S Thompson to H S Wellcome, 1 May 1913.
17. 'It is my idea and my intention that this Museum shall be a permanent institution.' *Opening ceremony of the Historical Medical Museum... June 24, 1913*, [1913?], p. 23.
18. '...this Museum is not now restricted to the medical profession, and has been open to the public for some years.' (Letter, C J S Thompson to E Lovett, 15 March 1917.)
19. Dr W L Hildburgh's collection of Japanese charms, amulets and other objects of medical interest was exhibited at the Museum in May 1916 and the Edward Lovett collection on the folklore of London in September of the same year. Objects from the Museum were exhibited at a meeting of the Historical Section of the Royal Society of Medicine on 3 December 1913 and a special visit to the Museum by the Section was arranged on 27 May 1914. Medical incunabula were exhibited at the Bibliographical Society on 19 January 1914 to illustrate a talk by Sir William Osler. Material was also shown at the Medical Society of London on 1 May 1916 in connection with an address on 'Shakespeare and medicine' by Sir StClair Thomson.
20. Letter, J Y W MacAlister to C J S Thompson, 9 January 1914.
21. 'Sometimes I have wished that I had persisted in my original intention to postpone the opening of the Museum until the collections could be properly and completely studied, classified and catalogued, which plan I have rigidly pursued in respect to the Library.' (Letter, H S Wellcome to F H Garrison, published in Garrison (1930).)
22. Poynter (1968, p. 412) refers to 'temporary closure during the first world war'. In his unpublished report (1964) he states that 'The Museum ... was closed throughout the first war, reopening ... at the end of 1918'. He was possibly misled by Haggis (p. 510): 'Soon after peace came in 1918 the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum resumed its activities on a considerably larger scale than before'.
23. C J S Thompson, *The story of 'Holmleigh' Auxiliary Military Hospital, Harrow-on-the-Hill*, London, Bale & Danielsson, [1919?]. Thompson was appointed MBE for his work for the hospital.
24. 'Snow Hill insist, very rightly, on my other secretarial ... duties taking precedence over Library work, and yet the Library work has got to be done sometime. It is no unusual thing (as the men on night-duty know) for me to be working here up to a quarter to seven and later, and on two occasions I have had to put in the whole of Saturday afternoon ...' (R H Kidd to C J S Thompson, 2 February 1917.) His successor was similarly overburdened: 'I would point out that you are in error in surmising that Mrs Shawe has nothing else to do but the accounts ... Her duties also consist in cataloguing all the books that come into the library ... the examination of current literature for Mr Wellcome ... booking the loans to the Museum, and the whole of the work that was undertaken by Miss Butler when she was here'. (C J S Thompson to

25. 1. Sir D'A Power, (tr.), *De arte phisicali et de cirurgia of Master John Arderne*, 1922.

2. P Capparoni, *Magistri Salernitani nondum cogniti*, 1923.

3. M H Spielmann, *The iconography of Andreas Vesalius*, 1925.

4. J D Comrie, *History of Scottish Medicine to 1860*, 1927 (2nd edn, 2 vols, 1932).

The first three were published by Bale & Danielsson, the fourth by Baillière, Tindall & Cox. *History and lore of Cymric medicine* by D F Fraser-Harris was advertised as in preparation but was never completed.

26. 'Ever since you left, Mr Wellcome has kept me busy attending sales, and I have had absolutely no time to get on with my librarian's work. Some weeks I have had to go to a sale every day, and when I am not actually at the sale there is all the viewing, looking up in our catalogue, and hunting up previous prices to be done . . . I am afraid, therefore, that you will not find much progress when you return . . .' (C C Barnard to C J S Thompson, 8 March 1919.)

27. Sir William Osler, *Incunabula medica, a study of the earliest printed medical books*, [London], Bibliographical Soc., 1923. Contains Osler's presidential address to the Society, 19 January 1914 (see above, note 19) and a bibliography of medical books printed before 1481, edited by Victor Scholderer but based on material originally collected by Prideaux.

28. See H S Wellcome, *The Story of Metlakahla*, London, Saxon, 1887; J Usher, *William Duncan of Metlakahla*, Ottawa, National Museums of Canada, 1974; P Murray, *The devil and Mr Duncan*, Victoria, BC, Sono Nis Press, 1985.

29. See W D Foster, *The Church Missionary Society and modern medicine in Uganda, the life of Sir Albert Cook*, KCMG, Newhaven, Newhaven Press for the author, 1978.

30. This use of 'Conservator' as equivalent to 'Curator' is all but obsolete in current English usage, where the word has come to mean a specialist in conservation. The title was probably adopted from the Hunterian Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, where it dates back to 1799 and still survives as an honorary dignity.

31. 'I am to take full charge as soon as I get hold of the ropes . . . Thompson the Curator will continue his work on the medical collection.' (L W G Malcolm to Dr Herbert Bolton, Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, 10 October 1925. Bristol Museum Archives.)

32. Thompson's obituaries (*British Medical Journal*, 1943, 2: 153; *Lancet*, 1943, 2: 108-109) state that he left the Museum in 1926; likewise L G Matthews, *Pharmaceutical Journal*, 1979, 223: 658-659. This error may originate in the company records, where his retirement date is shown as 6 May 1926, that is to say six months after his resignation. (Personal communication, K P Collins, 23 July 1980.)

33. Both expressed their feelings in print after Wellcome's death: 'Thompson told me that he had been dismissed because he had published papers on . . . certain things in the Museum without first having obtained Sir Henry's

permission. For doing a public service of such a kind, I would have rewarded a curator, not dismissed him.' (Sir Arthur Keith, *An autobiography*, London, Watts, 1950, p. 500.)

'He [Wellcome] was arbitrary, and thought so little of those who had served him well and faithfully for many years that he would dismiss them almost at a moment's notice and seemingly without sufficient reason; in other words, he treated distinguished scientific men as though they were mere employees.' (Sir D'Arcy Power in *Lives of the Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons of England 1930-1951*, London, the College, 1953, p. 833.)

34. *Handbook to the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum*, 1927, p.118.

35. Singer had probably been doubtful of Wellcome's attitude since the failure of an attempt in 1921 to persuade him to endow a chair in the history of medicine at University College. The display in the Museum did not particularly interest him and he was concerned at the continued closure of the Library, both on his own account and on that of his wife, Dorothea Waley Singer, who was conducting a survey of medieval scientific manuscripts. He had found Thompson more accommodating than Malcolm: in 1919 a Persian anatomical manuscript had been deposited at the Bodleian for his use. Malcolm's views on Singer are set out in a report of 25 February 1927 with appendix by Johnston-Saint and in a letter of 5 July 1927. (The former is heavily annotated by Wellcome.) See also Skinner (1986) p. 388 note 5, and J Sheppard, 'Charles Joseph Singer ... papers in the Contemporary Medical Archives Centre', *Medical History*, 1987, 31: 466-471 (especially p. 467 note 5).

36. Moorat (1938) makes much of these disagreements. Differences of opinion on such matters as the staffing and purchasing policy of the Library can be documented, but Moorat's 'very considerable friction' and 'a dispute which was really impairing the efficiency of the Library' are perhaps too highly coloured. At the Royal College of Surgeons and Royal Society of Medicine Hewitt had experienced genuinely difficult situations, and his son, himself a librarian, states 'I have always believed that he regarded the Wellcome appointment as probably his happiest'. (Personal communication, A R Hewitt, 21 April 1981.)

37. Malcolm's reprimand to Mr Port's unfortunate predecessor underlines the pressures placed on the store staff and the scale of Mr Port's achievement in maintaining an efficient system: 'During the past three weeks I have made a critical examination of the stores . . . At Crystal Palace, I find fabrics in the outbuilding, the boxes are dumped any way, some on their sides . . . the war pictures in the alleyway are not stored but dumped . . . At Bushey Hill valuable boxes are placed in the open without any battens under them. At Stanmore . . . the store in No. 4 is a perfect disgrace and the whole contents . . . must be repacked. You have disregarded my . . . instructions that the arms should be kept in the groups as they were at High Street. You have not only packed them in a heap but other groups are placed in other parts of the store. The packing of the cases is very bad. Some are on their sides, some on their top and some of the numbers are not visible . . . The numbers should be visible and as far as possible placed in running order. Also groups should be placed together. This criticism applies also to Crystal Palace . . .' (L W G Malcolm to R Higginson, 3 July 1926.)

38. Malcolm's proposals included an ambitious plan for a course of lectures by some 17 experts, which might have



set a new standard for professional education analogous to the situation in librarianship. 'This scheme would possibly lead to the development of a School, not necessarily in connection with the Museum, for the definite training of museum assistants and directors.' (Memorandum, L W G Malcolm to H S Wellcome, 22 October 1928.) The Museums Association instituted its diploma scheme a few years later.

39. 'The factory was in a district unsurpassed for sordidness and desolation . . . The premises where we had to work were practically unheated, and the winter of 1928–29 was a particularly cold one; all of us were more or less ill . . . all the heating we had was an overhead slightly warm pipe, and the temperature often fell to 40 to 45° Fahrenheit . . . As our ignorance of [the] material was almost total, the cataloguing was largely guess-work . . .' (Personal communication, J M Brauholtz (née Raymont), 29 July 1985.)

40. The ban on publication was not actually written into the staff contracts. These merely forbade publication without permission, which was not unreasonable in a commercial and industrial context and did not prevent the publication of hundreds of papers from the research laboratories. In the Historical Museum permission was, in contrast, almost never granted. Lacaille was allowed to publish on archaeological topics and Johnston-Saint produced 'An outline of the history of medicine in India' (Sir George Birdwood Memorial Lecture), *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 1929, 77: 843–870, but such exceptions proved the rule.

41. Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries. *Oral evidence, memoranda and appendices to the final report*, London, HMSO, 1929. Wellcome's evidence, 14 December 1928, occupies paras 4552–4632 on pp. 103–109.

42. A large section of this was later published as 'The medical man as collector in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *Medical Life*, 1935, 42 (11): 566–620. Malcolm had by this time left Wellcome's employ.

43. P Johnston-Saint, Travel diary, 1 February 1928.

44. A W J Haggis, notes of interview with G E Pearson, 12 December 1940.

45. See letter from Wellcome to Malcolm, 4 July 1933, quoted by Turner (1980), p. 55.

46. 'I feel that things have not been satisfactory for some time. There appears to be less and less prospect of improvement in salary, status or working conditions, and no opportunity to carry out congenial work.' (Letter of resignation, M G Rainsford-Hannay to L W G Malcolm, 27 September 1934.)

47. Although Miss Hannay (note 46 above) did not in the event rejoin the staff, the possibility was discussed on several occasions and her letters to Johnston-Saint show the change of mood: 'I could not possibly consider returning to the Wellcome Institute [*sic*] on the condition under which I left it' (13 November 1935) and 'Since the Museum has become a living entity I should be so happy and proud to serve it' (28 November 1939).

48. *The Wellcome-Marston Archaeological Research Expedition to the Near East. Lachish (Tell ed Duweir)*. Vol. I by H Torczyner, J L Starkey, etc. Vols II–IV by Olga Tufnell, etc., 4 vols in 6, London, Oxford University Press for the Wellcome Trustees, 1938–58.

49. Memoranda, S A J Moorat to P Johnston-Saint, 13 and 14 July, 1937. Letter, P Johnston-Saint to T R Elliott, 14 July 1937.

50. 'It appears to have been Sir Henry's intention that the Library should serve all the Departments of the Wellcome Research Institute [*sic*]. Actually books for all the Departments are ordered through the Librarian, requisitions are sent to me for initialling, and all such works are included in my catalogue.' (Moorat, 1938.) Hewitt eight years earlier had seen no merit in these practices, which only served to delay the arrival of books in the departments where they were wanted. ' . . . it is not clear why books for other Institutions should go through our catalogue here at all. They have . . . other sources for obtaining books . . . which are not reported to us . . . Moreover, the books . . . are . . . practically lost to the Wellcome Research Library.' (C R Hewitt to L W G Malcolm, 7 February 1930.)

As for Wellcome's intentions, Johnston-Saint reported to the Trustees 'I have a draft in Sir Henry's handwriting in which he makes it quite clear that the Librarian should be responsible in all matters to him (Sir Henry) through the Conservator'. (Memorandum on the Librarian's Report for August 1938, 7 September 1938.)

51. Moorat (1938) p. 15. Gardner was already senior assistant when Poynter arrived as an unqualified junior, but they were only four months apart in age and had actually been at school together. While Gardner had gone straight from school to library training, Poynter had made a false start with two years of university and a period of prep-school teaching, but by 1938 he had more than recovered his position.

52. While the Library was at Snow Hill it seems to have had little need for a formal title. An early ledger (1901) calls it 'The Wellcome Reference Library' and in R A Rye's *The libraries of London*, 2nd edn, 1910 it is listed as 'The Wellcome Library'. After 1913 it became the Library of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum but in the late 1920s (perhaps at the time of the move to Willesden) it became 'The Wellcome Research Library', retaining this name until 1941.

53. Air raids made it necessary to vacate the first floor of the Willesden premises. Moorat reported ' . . . the Library offices are now on the ground floor . . . such heat as there is comes from pipes near the ceiling, the effect of which is barely perceptible at chair-level, and the bare stone floor adds to the discomfort. May I suggest . . . three electric stoves . . . [and] some old carpets or matting'. (S A J Moorat to P Johnston-Saint, 4 December 1940.) (cf. note 39 above.)

54. 'He [Herbert Marley, chairman of Dawsons] has the distinction of being probably the only man in history who bought one million books in one bid.' (R H Lewis, *The book browser's guide*, Newton Abbot, David & Charles, 1975, p. 62.) Moorat's assessment was 40 000 printed books and 1250 manuscripts, at least 15% in each category being rubbish. (Library report for May–June 1945, 2 July 1945.) It seems unlikely, therefore, that Marley's coup rivalled the purchase of the Philipps collection by the Robinson brothers in the same year.

55. Dr Daukes was clearly finding Moorat's intransigence a strain on his patience. He wrote to his prospective successor: ' . . . a temporary scheme has been drawn up for the Library so that it may be available for students from January 1st . . . I talked over the whole matter with Moorat, but, as you know, he regards the Library premises as entirely unsuit-

able and . . . is reluctant to fall in even with a temporary scheme . . . Moorat objects that his offices are too small as he requires in these offices 6000–10 000 reference books for the Librarian's and Assistant Librarian's use. This seems to me to be nonsense as he will be working actually in the Library, with a reference library within easy reach. However, he is a librarian: I am not. It is a point upon which you are well able to adjudicate.' (S H Daukes to E A Underwood, 20 September 1945.)

56. Moorat's final report, for March 1946, does not mention readers but their presence as early as January is hinted at by Underwood: '[the Library] is actually being used at the present time by members of the medical and scientific profession' (Report for November–December 1945, 16 January 1946) and 'The bay which is at present being used by members of the public' (Memorandum to A L Dean, on hearing, 16 January 1946).

57. 'The buildings occupy a flat-iron shaped corner site of considerable value, but the premises have now become inadequate to the needs of the business. It is the intention of the Board . . . to acquire or to build new offices . . . somewhere near the Wellcome Research Institution.) (Wellcome Foundation Ltd, *Organisation*, February 1941, p. 13.)

58. J F Fulton, 'News from abroad. The Wellcome Historical Medical Museum', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 1948, **22**: 97–98.

59. Gardner spent the rest of his life as an assistant in East Ham Public Library.

60. 1. C Singer and C Rabin, *A prelude to modern science, being a discussion of the history, sources and circumstances of the 'Tabulae Anatomicae Sex' of Vesalius*, 1946.

2. B M Duncum, *The development of inhalation anaesthesia*, 1947.

3. J H G Grattan and C Singer, *Anglo-Saxon magic and medicine*, 1952.

4. C Singer, *Vesalius on the human brain*, 1952.

5. F N L Poynter, *A catalogue of incunabula in the Wellcome Historical Medical Library*, 1954.

6. A D Lacaille, *The Stone Age in Scotland*, 1954.

7. C Singer, *Galen on anatomical procedures*, 1956.

8. C Wall, H C Cameron and E A Underwood, *A history of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London*, Vol. I: 1617–1815, 1963.

The first was published by Cambridge University Press, the remainder by Oxford University Press.

61. At the beginning of 1946 the professional staff of the Museum stood at 12, including the Director, and of the Library at four. By the end of 1948 these numbers had been reduced to six and two, respectively. Subsequently, while the number of librarians had risen steadily from three in 1951 to six by 1958, the scientific staff of the Museum had remained static and had even declined after Earnshaw's departure in 1957.

62. Poynter's contrast between the newly refurbished Library and the 'dirt and disorder and decay' of the Museum (Report of 10 April 1964) is a little unfair to

Underwood. The same charge could have been levelled at the Library prior to 1962.

63. Although Poynter ceased to use the title of Chief Librarian he retained a close control over the Library which, as Librarian, he would only have tolerated reluctantly from the Director.

64. Earlier publications had been handled by Bale & Danielsson, Baillière, Tindall & Cox, Cambridge University Press and, most recently, Oxford University Press (cf. notes 25 and 60 above).

65. Singer's appointment at University College London (1920–42) has already been mentioned. A part-time lectureship had been held at Edinburgh University by J D Comrie (1908–39) and D J Guthrie (1945–56) and Wellcome had founded a prize medal there in 1912 for an annual essay on a medico-historical topic.

66. The seminar room was originally dedicated to the memory of Sir Henry Wellcome and Sir William Osler as 'The Wellcome-Osler Room' (invariably shortened in practice to 'The Osler Room').

67. The preposition was changed to 'for' in 1973.

68. 'Vision and the Eye' (1969), 'Rehabilitation' (1969), 'Posology and the Medicine Bottle' (1970), 'The History of Cardiology' (1970–71), 'Dickens and Medicine' (1970).

69. See J K Crellin, J R Scott and D A Hutton, 'Pharmaceutical history and its sources in the Wellcome collections', *Medical History*, 1967, **11**: 215–227; 1969, **13**: 51–67; 1970, **14**: 132–153; 1972, **16**: 81–85; 1973, **17**: 266–287. J K Crellin, *Catalogue of medical ceramics: English and Dutch*, London, Wellcome Institute, 1969. J K Crellin and J R Scott, *Glass and British pharmacy 1600–1900*, London, Wellcome Institute, 1972.

70. See Burnett and Wright (1982).

71. See Russell (1986).

72. Dr Clarke's retirement was following by an interregnum: Mr Freeman served as Acting Head from January to September 1980, and from October 1980 to August 1981 Professor A R Hall of Imperial College acted as Chairman of a Directing Committee.

73. Like all matters arising from the interpretation of Wellcome's will, the legal niceties surrounding the status of the Trust as employers and the transfer of staff proved far from straightforward and were masterfully disentangled by Harry Mendelson, former Personnel Director of the Wellcome Foundation Ltd.

74. 21% of the Trust's shareholding was sold and 5% of new share capital was created. A new holding company, Wellcome plc, was established for the issue of the shares but the company continues to trade as the Wellcome Foundation Ltd. A further sale of shares in July 1992 has left the Trust's holding at about 40%.

## Additional Note

As oral tradition fades, it is appropriate to record the following pronunciations:

Burstein	-stine, not -steen
Daukes	to rhyme with hawks

Lacaille	to rhyme with black eye
Moorat	stressed on the second syllable
Mounteney	first e silent
Prideaux	to rhyme with widow
Sambon	stressed on the second syllable, with the n sounded
Sinel	short i, stressed on second syllable

## Sources

### A. Unpublished

The archives of the Institute, which include Sir Henry Wellcome's personal papers, are a rich source of information on many topics, still to be fully exploited. The Museum archives up to 1921 were arranged in their present order by A L Dean in 1956–59, with abstracts for some sections and a subject index for references to Museum acquisitions. In a few cases these abstracts preserve a record of documents no longer extant. Relevant archival material is also held by the Wellcome Foundation Ltd and the Wellcome Trust.

Progress is to a large extent summarised in various series of reports. There are also several unpublished historical typescripts and reminiscences by serving or former members of staff. Only those presented as formal reports are noted here.

### Reports

Regular periodic reports on the work of the Museum, and later of the Institute, have been submitted to the Trust since 1937. The only annual report produced in Sir Henry Wellcome's lifetime is for the year 1927. Since the year 1982/83 the Institute's annual report has been published.

### Reports to Sir Henry Wellcome

These were produced on an *ad hoc* basis and, although numerous and extremely informative, are neither regular nor continuous. There are large gaps for periods when Wellcome was in direct contact with the Museum. Formal reports begin in 1904, but correspondence between Wellcome and C J S Thompson goes back to 1896.

### Reports to the Director-in-Chief

Monthly reports by the Curator were instituted in 1915 but, after an initial flush of enthusiasm, these are generally perfunctory and eventually decline into a statistical return supplied by the Secretary.

### Library Reports

The earliest extant annual reports are for the year ending 30 April 1924 and for 1927. From September 1925 onwards occasional progress reports are appended to the Conservator's reports to Wellcome. A monthly statistical report was initiated in 1929 and annual reports have been produced since 1932.

## Other Reports

Johnston-Saint's diaries of his collecting tours from 1927 to 1935 constitute a distinct series. Regular reports by other senior staff were started in 1929.

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## Appendix

### Directors of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum and of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine.

1913–1936	Sir Henry S Wellcome, LLD, DSc, FRS (Founder and Director)
1913–1925	C J S Thompson, MBE, PhD, MPS (Curator)
1925–1934	L W G Malcolm, MSc, PhD, FRSE (Conservator)
1934–1947	P J Johnston-Saint, MA, FRSE (Conservator)
1941–1945	S H Daukes, OBE, MD
1946–1964	E A Underwood, MD, FRCP
1964–1973	F N L Poynter, BA, PhD, Hon MD, FLA
1973–1979	E Clarke, MD, FRCP
1980–1981	Prof. A R Hall, MA, LittD, FBA (Chairman)
1981–1983	P O Williams, MB, FRCP
1983–1987	Prof. Sir William Paton, CBE, DM, FRCP, FRS (Honorary Director)

### Wellcome Trust Director (History of Medicine)

1988–	E J Freeman, BA, ALA
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### Head of Academic Unit

1977–	W F Bynum, MD, PhD, MRCP
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### Librarians

1900–1913	C J S Thompson, PhD, MPS
1913–1918	T W Huck, FLA
1919–1921	C C Barnard, MLA (Assistant Librarian)
1921–1925	W R B Prideaux, BA, FLA
1925–1931	C R Hewitt, FLA (Chief Librarian)
1932–1946	S A J Moorat, MA, DipLib (Chief Librarian)
1946–1953	W J Bishop, FLA
1954–1964	F N L Poynter, BA, PhD, FLA (Chief Librarian 1961–64)
1964–1973	E Gaskell, BA, ALA
1973–	E J Freeman, BA, ALA (Deputy Director 1981–88)

### Secretaries and other Senior Staff

1913–1914	F G Shirreff, MA
1915–1916	A E H Swinstead, BA
1916	H J Powell, BA
1916	R Dykes
1916–1917	R H Kidd
1917–1919	Mrs J Shawe
1919–1920	J B Cooper-Read
1920–1934	P J Johnston-Saint, MA, FRSE (Foreign Secretary 1928–34)
1928–1954	A L Dean, FCIS
1941–1946	A W J Haggis, FLS (Assistant Conservator)
1964–1969	J W Barber-Lomax, BVSc, MRCVS (Assistant Director)
1969–1982	G Wilson, FCIS
1982–1990	S E Emberton, MBIM (Administrator)

### Wellcome Institute Museum Curator

1969–1977	C A Sizer, BSc, FGS, FMA
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